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MAN AND THE MACHINE.

BY THE RIGHT REV. HENRY C. POTTER, D.D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

In May last there was held in the city of New York the annual meeting of an Association popularly known as C. A. I. L.* This Society is made up of the friends of working people of various callings and professions and of both sexes, and includes also representatives of various classes of working men and women. The meeting was wholly informal, and indeed explicitly social in its character; and after a simple but excellent supper there were informal speeches from various guests and others who were more or less representative of the interests represented by the Association.

It was my privilege to be one of these speakers, and it was not unnatural that one addressing such a gathering should be moved to call attention to the "interests" of those who labor, in a somewhat wider view of them than that word might ordinarily suggest. The interests of working men and women concern not alone their wages or housing, their hours or their food. And so I attempted to point out those just considerations which ought to influence not only the employers of labor, but all those who have it in their power, in any degree, to modify the conditions

* The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor.

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under which people work to-day, growing out of the nature of those conditions as peculiar to our own generation. This line of remark led me to refer to what has aptly been called the "Industrial Revolution" of the last and the present century, and to the great changes it has brought about; to sketch briefly the condition of the handicraftsman of earlier times—his domestic relations to his employer, the intimate and almost filial character of a workman's life as part of a great household, in which he ate below the salt, but often ate at the same table with his employer; and our modern conditions, under which he was often personally unknown to his employer, designated by a number, working in a "gang," and hired or dismissed usually without the smallest reference to any personal or domestic circumstances in the case. I recognized that a laborer, before the present century, was often hard driven, poorly fed, and worse housed; but pointed out that his individuality had more habitual recognition, and in many cases kindly and more or less fraternal consideration. Passing from this branch of the subject, I referred also to the enormous change in the circumstances of the working man growing out of the introduction of machinery, and pointed out how inevitable was the tendency of the increased employment of machinery to *mechanicalize* the workman. It was in view of such considerations, I urged, that such sympathetic interest in the circumstances, as well as the legal and economic rights of working men, appeared to have a just claim upon everybody who had regard to the "eternal equities," and felt any obligation for the well-being of his fellow-men.

Almost immediately after saying the few words which I have thus epitomized, I left the country for an absence of some months; but I had hardly touched the shores of a foreign land before I was followed by reports of my informal address, which for ingenious and grotesque inaccuracy have hardly had a parallel anywhere,—I do not think I could state the case more strongly—in the columns of a sensational press.

I have not the slightest intention of undertaking to correct them here. My own rule in such cases has long been invariable. Some day the innocent people who allow themselves to be beguiled into correcting newspaper misstatements will learn that that weakness of misrepresented people is one of the reasons that

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prompt the unscrupulous authors of those statements to make them. The personal element in modern newspapers is the mustard that gives to the whole vulgar dish, to many appetites, its chief relish. Sensible people will refuse to furnish it.

But I refer to the matter now in order to call attention to the immense mischief which is wrought by modern journalism, in such a connection as this, with regard to interests that are vastly more important than those of any individual. The deluge of excerpts, to which I have referred, included a multitudinous variety of criticisms of every kind upon statements which I had never made, and which any sane person, one would suppose, must know that it was impossible that I could have made—since they imputed to me opinions which could only be excusable in a lunatic. These criticisms proceeded from manufacturers, employers of labor, journalists, men of letters, clergymen, and other critics who could not easily be classified. No one of these persons had ever taken the trouble to verify the statements they criticised; and in the case of ministers of religion, especially, they furnished a curious and painful illustration of the way in which the demoralization of the pulpit has attended upon that of the press. The preacher, apparently, cared as little as the journalist for the *facts* in the case. What he wanted for his Sunday harangue was a sensational point of departure, and where he found it, or what was its value as something having any foundation in fact, was a matter of profound indifference to him.

Now, we talk of a sound public opinion as a foundation of the well-being of the state. But it is certainly a question of some importance,—how is such a public opinion created? Public opinion is not alone the opinion of scholars, statesmen, journalists, clergymen and the like. It is the opinion of that great mass of the people, whose diffused intelligence and accurate knowledge are in civic matters our only hope. But what is to be expected of it if it is fed habitually by misinformation, by exaggerated, sensational and irresponsible statements? Much is said in these days about the suppressed discontent and irritation which exists between classes,—not on one side alone, but on both sides. It is time that the question was asked: Who is responsible for it, and how may such a malign influence be restrained and chastened?

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The most depressing fact that confronts one who is trying to interpret to each other men or classes that are at issue, is the immense sub-stratum of ignorance and prejudice that exists on both sides, and that is found on examination to be the result of persistent misinformation; of facts torn from their connection, or partially stated; of bitter, or scornful, or inflammatory words, spoken often by those who represent no one but themselves, and that are flung abroad in displayed type, or with sensational expansion of editorial comment, to be the spark that anew kindles social resentments or inflames class hatreds. We are facing to-day a whole group of grave questions, of real difficulty, of extreme delicacy often, and almost as often of almost entire novelty. They grow out of conditions that, until the present century, never had an existence, and they are complicated by perplexities which what we call our industrial progress does not diminish, but often greatly complicates. In such a situation, what the hour waits for is a cool temper, restrained speech, a judicial hesitancy in flinging about loose opinions, and a wide knowledge of a very wide range of facts. Under these circumstances the swift imputation of motives, the ready inference of malign intent, the exaggerated descriptions whether of the heartlessness of one class or of the malignity of the other, to which we are frequently treated, is precisely as mischievous as the act of the anarchist or incendiarist who drops bombs or petroleum about the streets or homes in which his neighbors live. That we have become so far wonted to it as we have; that the mischief of it appears so little to concern or to alarm us, is itself an element of danger that has constrained me to refer to the matter here.

On the occasion to which I referred at the opening of this paper, I was striving to say some words to bind men together—the more favored classes in intelligent sympathy with those whose lot is that of unremitting labor, the hardships of which have unquestionably been greatly increased, often, by those modern conditions under which labor has to be performed. In illustration of this point I referred, as has already been indicated, to the purely mechanical and unintelligent character of much that is required of a working man in serving or feeding some great mechanism, and pointed out that the utter monotony of it must needs account for the intemperate reaction from such monotony, of which one sometimes heard. These temperate and,

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as I venture to think, timely words have been widely heralded as a denunciation of the employment of machinery in manufacture and an unreserved condemnation of it in connection with our modern industrial life. It is not necessary, I hope, that I should disown so absurd a misrepresentation. Any one of even the most limited intelligence cannot fail to perceive the enormous gains in convenience, comfort, and luxury from the application of machinery to the arts. But no great gain of such a character is without cost, in many ways and of many kinds. The cost to the individual who works at a handicraft is real and serious, and it is concerning this that we need to recognize the present situation and to do what we can to ameliorate it.

The case is admirably stated by Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor, in his work *The Modern Factory System*, in terms so true and temperate that I cannot refrain from quoting them :

"This type of industry is new in the world. In all previous modes of labor (including the earlier factory systems) all the processes were performed by means of manufacture proper; either, that is, by the 'fitting together (by human hands) of partial products made independently,' or by the conducting them through 'a series of connected processes and manipulations,' with or without the aid of more or less simple machines and tools. In the present instance it is the processes themselves that are performed by the machines, and the human hands that only assist them. It is machine industry; not industry merely aided by machinery. A weaving establishment of 200, 2,000, or 5,000 years ago (say in England, Greece, or Egypt) would equally well afford an example of the first type, and the same general description of what occurred be fairly applicable. The yarn, spun independently with a simple tool, a distaff—or a simple implement, a spinning wheel—is fitted to the loom as warp and weft, and woven on that more complicated implement into a web. But it is not woven by it. The shuttle is passed back and forward or in and out by hand. Adam Smith's celebrated description of pin-making as practised in his day furnishes a good illustration of the second category. 'One man draws out the wire; another straights it; a third cuts it; a fourth points it; a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business; to whiten the pin is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which in some manufactories are all performed by distinct hands.' Here the finished product is the result of a 'series of connected processes and manipulations,' all manual, and directed under a common superintendence to a definite end. But compare now these proceedings with the same or similar ones all performed by machinery; or rather let us return to textile industry for the comparison. The warp and weft both spun *by*, not merely *with* machinery, are by machinery wound on the shuttle and the beam, and being conducted to a proper place, are then again by a machine wrought into the web. The

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'connected processes' are still there, but they are no longer 'manipulations.' Nay, if this machine does its work badly and the yarn breaks, it is not the weaver who detects the fault, but the machine that informs *him*. By an ingenious contrivance a bell is rung, the loom stops, and all that is left for human faculties to perform is the common-place operation of tying the broken ends together. Is this machinery aiding human labor or human labor aiding machinery? It is clearly the latter; it is *machine industry;* a different thing from anything that had yet been known, one of the special characteristics of modern industry, and among other forms of it, of the modern factory system. The full significance of the change thus introduced in labor is not yet understood, nor can any adequate exposition of it be attempted here. It is clearly a much larger question than is involved in the rise or fall of any particular factory system, for it obviously affects forms of labor lying altogether outside it. But the difference made in the position of the factory worker is fundamental. In earlier factories the human element was the supreme one; under the modern system that supremacy belongs to the machine."*

Precisely. And the question for all right-minded people is: How far shall this supremacy be allowed to extend? It is idle to pretend that this domination of the machine in the life of the working man can long obtain without affecting that in him which is of incomparably more value than anything that the machine can produce. In fact, in this connection the testimony of those who can speak with a technical knowledge and wide experience to which I can make no claim is substantially conclusive. Says Hobson in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*:†

"Though the quality of intelligence and skill applied to the invention, application, and management of machinery is constantly increasing, practical authorities are almost unanimous in admitting that the proportion which this skilled work bears to the aggregate of labor in machine industry is constantly diminishing. Now, setting on one side this small proportion of intelligent labor, what are we to say of the labor of him who, under the minute subdivision enforced by machinery, is obliged to spend his working life in tending some small portion of a single machine, the whole result of which is continually to push some single commodity a single step along the journey from raw material to consumptive goods?

"The factory is organized with military precision, the individual's work is definitely fixed for him; he has nothing to say as to the plan of his work or its final completion or its ultimate use. 'The constant employment on one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost.'‡ The work of a machine tender, it is urged, calls for 'judgment and carefulness.' So did his manual labor before the machine took it over. His 'judgment and carefulness' are now confined within narrower limits than before. The responsibility of the worker is greater, precisely because his work is narrowed

* "*The Modern Factory System*," W. C. Taylor, pp. 75-77.
† "*The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*," by J. A. Hobson.
‡ D. A. Wells, "*Contemporary Review*," 1889, p. 392.

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down so as to be related to and dependent on a number of other operatives in other parts of the same machine with whom he has no direct personal concern. Such realized responsibility is an element in education, moral and intellectual. But this gain is the direct result of the minute subdivision, and must therefore be regarded as purchased by a narrowing of interests and a growing monotony of work. It is questionable whether the great majority of machine workers get any considerable education, from the fact that the machine in conjunction with which they work represents a huge embodiment of the delicate skill and invention of many thousands of active minds; though some value may be attached to the contention that 'the mere exhibition of the skill displayed and the magnitude of the operations performed in factories can scarcely fail of some educational effect.'* The absence of any true apprenticeship in modern factories prevents the detailed worker from understanding the method and true bearing even of those processes which are closely linked to that in which he is engaged. The ordinary machine tender, save in a very few instances, *e. g.*, watchmaking, has no general understanding of the work of a whole department. Present conditions do not enable the 'tender' to get out of machinery the educational influence he might get. Professor Nicholson expresses himself dubiously upon the educational value of the machine. 'Machinery of itself does not tend to develop the mind as the sea and mountains do, but still it does not necessarily involve deterioration of general mental ability.'† Dr. Arlidge expresses a more decided opinion. 'Generally speaking, it may be asserted of machinery that it calls for little or no brain exertion on the part of those connected with its operations; it arouses no interest, and has nothing in it to quicken or brighten the intelligence, though it may sharpen the sight and stimulate muscular activity in some one limited direction.' "‡

The writer from whom I have just quoted furnishes, in the same discussion, a very striking illustration of these words in connection with the work of railway engineers:

"A locomotive superintendent of a railway was recently questioned as to the quality of engine-driving. 'After twenty years' experience, he declared emphatically that the very best engine-drivers were those that were most mechanical and unintelligent in their work, who cared least about the internal mechanism of their engine.'‖ Yet engine-driving is far less mechanical and monotonous than ordinary tending of machinery.

"So far as the man follows the machine and has his work determined for him by mechanical necessity, the educative pressure of the latter force must be predominant. Machinery, like everything else, can only teach what it practices. Order, exactitude, persistence, conformity to unbending law—these are the lessons which must emanate from the machine. They have an important place as elements in the formation of intellectual and moral character. But of themselves they contribute a one-sided and very imperfect education. Machinery can exactly reproduce; it can, therefore, teach the lesson of exact reproduction, an education of quantitative measurements. The defect of machinery, from the educative point of view, is its absolute conservatism. The law of machinery is a law of statical order,

* Taylor, "*Modern Factory System*," p. 435.
† *Cf.* the comparison of conditions of town and country labor in Adam Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*," Bk I. Chap. x., part 2.
‡ "*Diseases of Occupation*," pp. 25-26.
‖ "*The Social Horizon*," p. 22.

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that everything conforms to a pattern, that present actions precisely resemble past and future actions. Now the law of human life is dynamic, requiring order not as valuable in itself, but as the condition of progress. The law of human life is that no experience, no thought or feeling is an exact copy of any other. Therefore, if you confine a man to expending his energy in trying to conform exactly to the movements of a machine, you teach him to abrogate the very principle of life. Variety is of the essence of life, and machinery is the enemy of variety."*

With those words I am content to rest my case. There is no one who will read them who will not own the enormous strain that comes from the pressure of an unremitting monotony. It is to such a monotony that our modern industrial life increasingly tends; and it is to its effects, first upon the nervous system of men and women, and then upon their reasoning and imaginative powers, that the present unrest of the industrial classes is largely to be traced. It would seem as if it were the part of reason and of common humanity to recognize such facts, and to own the appeal which they make to those of us who have it in our power in any way to ameliorate these untoward conditions. The first obstacle to be faced is a profound and widespread indifference, based, I believe, upon a large ignorance of the facts, and a very superficial judgment as to any efforts that may have been made to modify them; and the other, of which I would that I had space to speak now, is that increased distance and ever-enlarging ignorance which, to-day and in this land, divide from each other those who are differently circumstanced. We are eating the fruits of an irresponsible prosperity, which has grown rich and luxury-loving with a fine indifference, too often, to the processes by which our wealth has been gained. What it has cost, what it is costing others, has, at the best, very little concerned us. But a day of reckoning will come; and the awakening of the privileged classes to conditions in the life of working people which they ought long ago to have recognized may easily be a very painful and costly one. Surely, a wiser and a nobler way will be to seek first to recognize and to own the conditions in our present industrial life that need bettering, and then to touch them with a wise, and generous, and fraternal hand.

HENRY C. POTTER.

* "*The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*," p. 257.

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IMMIGRATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL TEST.

BY PRESCOTT F. HALL, SECRETARY OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE.

A RECENT writer upon the immigration question * truly says that much as this question has been discussed pro and con, there has been "a noticeable lack of the one element which can give certainty to the argument and force to the conclusions." Of such facts, he adds, "as bear directly and strongly upon the problems involved there has been little use made." There are many facts of the greatest importance to the solution of this question which have not appeared prominently in previous discussion, but which cannot safely be dismissed with generalities. A few of them it is my purpose to present in this article.

In the first place the real question confronting us to-day is not whether immigration in general is desirable, or has benefited this country in the past, whether it shall be entirely suspended, or whether there are more or fewer inhabitants per square mile in the United States than in some foreign country. The practical question is: Are the laws at present upon the statute books accomplishing what they were intended to effect, and do they let in all desirable additions to our population, and exclude all undesirable elements?

If immigrants be undesirable the fact that there is land enough for many times the population which we now have in the United States would be generally conceded to be an inadequate reason for admitting them. All admit that this is so in the case of persons unable to support themselves, and therefore present or future paupers are in theory excluded by the present law. As to whether they are in fact excluded I shall have something to say in a moment.

* Mr. S. G. Croswell, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May, 1897.

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But if we assume the paupers to be eliminated, is it true that we want in this country every man who can earn enough to keep body and soul together, or a little more? There seem to be two good reasons for thinking that we do not. First, admitting that wealth produced by manual labor gives a generous opportunity for mental and moral progress, still the greatness of a nation is not measured by the mileage of its sewers, the size of its tenement houses, or the abundance of its food supply. The essence of national greatness is in the intelligence and ideals of the people, and therefore the moral, social and political qualities of immigrants are of more importance in considering whether they shall be admitted or excluded than their ability to perform manual labor. Second, if there is a necessity for more laborers in this country, we can secure all we need without being obliged to take any who are undesirable because unfitted to our social and political life.

Postponing, for the moment, the precise definition of "undesirable," it is obvious that a considerable part of the immigration of the past has been desirable without question. If we exclude any elements, their place can be filled in two ways. It is well known that many industrious and thrifty foreigners no longer turn their attention to this country as a place to which to emigrate, because of the large influx in recent years of immigrants of a low grade of intelligence and standard of living. If we decide that these qualities are undesirable and exclude those possessing them, we thereby bid for a higher class of foreign labor; but even if this bid should not prove a sufficient attraction we can supply the needed additions from our own population. One of the most valuable contributions to the discussion of the immigration question was made by the late and much mourned Francis A. Walker. He showed that, contrary to some popular assertions, foreign workingmen did not come here in the past because Americans despised manual labor, but that the latter abandoned manual labor because of dislike of intimacy with the less intelligent and less progressive foreigners. The immigrants of '46 and '47, being for the most part peasants, turned their hands to the relatively unskilled work. The Americans, or the higher class of previous immigrants, already in those occupations, forthwith began to withdraw from them. In a growing country some of those thus displaced found other pursuits, but as this

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process has been going on ever since there have been times when the adults displaced have had difficulty in finding congenial employment. The result has been that these men have not married, or, if they have married, they have refused to increase the size of their families until they had the means to give their children the education and opportunities which could take them out of the lowest social class they saw about them. Herein is one secret of the halving of the American birth-rate. In proportion as still lower and more degraded immigrants come, the process applies to a larger portion of the people already here. In proportion as this process is checked by the exclusion of the least desirable, the birth-rate of the natives and of the foreign-born already here will tend to increase. If this be true, we have found a most important consideration to take into account in dealing with the immigration laws, for we must consider not merely the immigrants but their children and our children. Do we want this country to be peopled by British, German, and Scandinavian stock, historically free, energetic, progressive, or by Slav, Latin, and Asiatic races, historically down-trodden, atavistic, and stagnant? The facts are that over four-fifths of our recent immigrants are utterly unskilled in any employment, while of some races which have been increasing in immigration of late, such as Italians, nearly nine-tenths are laborers.

Mr. Croswell seems to think that the Middle and Western States are handicapped by the lack of manual laborers; but if that be true, why have these very States, and still more the Northwestern States, been crying out most loudly for several years for some further restriction of immigration? Among the States which in 1895 replied to an investigating committee of the Treasury Department that they wanted no further immigration of any kind were Illinois, Iowa, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California.

But, as is said above, the moral, social, and political aspects of the question are far more important than its material side. Let us, therefore, turn our attention to these matters. To find out what sort of citizens we are getting it is convenient to consider them by nationalities, bearing in mind, however, that each individual must be judged on his own merits without race proscription or prejudice. The facts suggest at once the dangers and the remedy.

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Immigration during the ten years from 1880 to 1890 amounted to 5,246,613 souls, or over 35 per cent. of the total immigration from 1820 to 1890. At its highest it added over one per cent. to the population of the United States in a single year, while the average during the period from 1886 to 1895 was 435,000 per year. There is nothing especially significant in the fact that the number of arrivals for 1896 was below the average, or that the number is even smaller this year. There has always been in the past a close correspondence between the number of arrivals in this country and the general state of business activity here. The depression of the last four years is undoubtedly the cause of this falling off at the present time, and the immigration act of 1893, which was merely an administrative measure, has probably had but a slight effect, if any, in producing this result. After each panic in our history, immigration has rapidly increased with renewed industrial activity, and great numbers have come only to be thrown out of work when the next depression set in. One unfortunate feature of this fluctuation, which I have pointed out elsewhere,* is that in times of business stagnation the falling off in immigration is largely of the skilled, enterprising and industrious races and individuals, while the coming of unskilled laborers and of those with no occupation is the last to be affected.

Previous to 1870, three-quarters of all immigrants came from kindred races, from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia. In 1880 these countries sent us only three-fifths, and in 1896 only two-fifths, of the total immigration. On the other hand, southern and eastern Europe, that is to say, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia, which in 1869 sent less than one one-hundreth of the total immigration, in 1880 sent one-tenth, and in 1896 over one-half. In other words, a most profound change has taken place in the nationality of our immigration almost while we have been discussing it, and the problems are by no means the same as they were a dozen years ago. Without going into the reasons for this change, it may be observed that they are likely to be even more potent in the future, and that a very different type of character was demanded of those who came here by sailing vessel forty years ago, enduring a long, rough voyage and paying a high rate of passage, from that required in taking a six days' trip in a huge modern steamer, and

*North American Review, August, 1896.

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paying a steerage rate frequently as low as $15, and sometimes as low as $9.

That along with much good material we have gotten much which is worthless and a burden, is shown by the fact that in 1890 there were 80,000 persons of foreign birth or parentage supported by the public in the prisons, insane asylums and almshouses of the United States. Roughly speaking, if we take an equal number of the foreign and of the native elements of the population, we find the foreign element furnishes one and one-half times as many criminals, two and one-third times as many insane persons, and three times as many paupers as the native element. In Massachusetts, which does not get the worst elements of recent immigration to any great extent, those of foreign birth furnished in 1895 ten times as many criminals as an equal number of native birth and parentage. And, contrary to much that has been predicted, the second generation who were born in this country furnished five-sixths as many criminals as the foreign born. If we consider drunkenness alone, the foreign born furnished three times as many criminals as the native born. This shows that in the past, at any rate, we have been receiving some elements that tend to lower social morality.

Now, let us inquire from what nations we get these elements, and let us ask at the same time whether there is any test which can be applied which will separate the wheat from the chaff.

If we take the prison reports of Massachusetts (which are the only ones to my knowledge giving full statistics on this matter), and leave out of account the matter of drunkenness, as being likely to obscure the comparison as to intrinsically criminal tendencies, we find a certain progression in the number of criminals per thousand furnished by the foreign born of the various nationalities. Thus Germany gives 3.6 per thousand, Scandinavia 5.1, Scotland 5.8, France 6.1, Ireland 7.1, England 7.2, Russia 7.9, Austria 10.4, Hungary 15.4, Poland 16.0, and Italy 18.2. The native born give 2.7, and the foreign born 5.4, or just twice as many.

Now if we turn to the figures as to the illiteracy of immigrants, which do not vary much from year to year, we shall be startled to find a progression almost exactly parallel to the above progression as to criminality. In 1896 the percentage of illiter-

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acy among Scandinavians was less than 2, among Germans less than 3, English 5, Scotch 6, Irish 7, Greeks 26, Russians 41, Austro-Hungarians 45, Italians 55, Portuguese 78. If we consider the converse of the question, namely the proportion of prisoners from the various races who are illiterate, the same result is reached.

We should expect that immigrants relatively ignorant of their language would also be ignorant of other things, *e. g.*, a trade, and such is the case. The progression in this respect is parallel to those already noted,—from Scotland sending us 25.7 per cent. of all her emigrants as professional and skilled persons, to Hungary sending 3.7 per cent. of such persons.

The same holds true as to the amount of money brought by immigrants—those from France, Germany, England, and Sweden bringing the most ($37 to $18), while those from Austria, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia bring the least ($7 to $13) *per capita*. These figures do not give the numerical average money brought *per capita*, which would be extremely misleading, but are made up by taking into account the number bringing $1 to $5, $5 to $10, and so on.

It is generally admitted that the races which have largely increased their immigration since 1880 tend to settle in our seaboard cities, and do not, as did their predecessors, go out to settle the new regions of the West. We find in this respect also a progression parallel to those already noted. Thus of Norwegians only 20 per cent. are found in our large cities ; of English, 40 per cent., and so on till we come to Poles and Russians, 57 per cent., and Italians nearly 60 per cent.

We find that the great size of this country is a poor argument for unlimited immigration, in the face of the fact that over seven-tenths of the total immigration last year was bound for the four States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania. If these people could be spread abroad throughout the country, doubtless the evil effects of their crowding into particular centres might be diminished, but no one has as yet suggested any practicable scheme for doing this, even with enormous expense ; and in the few cases where it has been tried it has proved a dismal failure. If the wishes of the various States as to the nationalities of immigrants desired by them have any bearing on the matter, those races of which we have received the greater

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proportion since 1880 will not obtain any great inducement to settle in other parts of the United States. Among the replies of the States to the Investigating Commission, above alluded to, there were only two which expressed any willingness to receive Slav, Latin or Asiatic settlers, and these two were for Italian farmers with money intending permanent settlement.

It will readily be seen that those immigrants bringing the least money are not in a position, for some time at least, to go far from the seaboard, and when they have earned enough to carry them to other sections, if ties have not been formed which keep them on the Atlantic coast, they turn their faces eastward to spend their earnings in their native country, where a few hundred dollars seems a princely fortune. The commissioner at the port of New York states that during the fiscal year 1896 about 20 per cent. of all immigrants arriving had been in the United States before, and I have myself seen manifests of Italian immigrants at the same port which showed that in some cases they had already been in this country four, five and six times.

Too often, however, they drift at once and for all, or for a long time, into our city slums, and there become a heavy tax upon our schools, prisons, police, courts of justice, and public and private charities, and often a menace to the public health. A recent report of the United States Commissioner of Labor shows that those of foreign birth or parentage form 77 per cent. of the total population of the slum districts in Baltimore, 90 per cent. in Chicago, 95 per cent. in New York, and 91 per cent. in Philadelphia. And it appears that of these percentages Southeastern Europe has furnished three times as many as Northwestern Europe in Baltimore, nineteen times as many in New York, twenty times as many in Chicago, and seventy-one times as many in Philadelphia. In other words, the slums of our largest cities are largely a foreign product, and a product of the countries which have greatly increased their immigration in recent years. To return for a moment to a consideration mentioned earlier in this article, the average illiteracy of the inhabitants of the slum districts of the four cities mentioned was for those from Northwestern Europe, twenty-five in a hundred; for those from Southeastern Europe, fifty-four in a hundred, or more than double; while the illiteracy of the native Americans was seven in a hundred.

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It appears, therefore, that restriction of naturalization, while a most desirable thing in itself, will not be any bar to the social and political dangers and burdens involved in the presence of the elements just referred to. There are other dangers quite as real as those of the ballot, and burdens quite as heavy as those of foolish expenditure.

Now, if we consider the effect of the laws at present in force, we find that their chief value is in deterring those from coming to this country who might otherwise come; for the actual number debarred and returned under these laws is but a paltry fraction of one per cent. of the total immigration. Under the present law an immigration inspector who wishes to exclude a man whom he thinks undesirable, but who does not come under any other excluded class, is obliged to decide that the man will certainly become a public charge within a year. This he can obviously seldom do, and the man has the benefit of the doubt. If he can keep from applying to the State or local authorities for assistance for a year, or if he can conceal his identity in doing so, he is safe from deportation. The latter method is worked so successfully that in Massachusetts only about one-third of the cases of immigrants receiving public relief can be identified so as to be deported under the laws.

If these statements are true, and the proof is clear beyond dispute, is there any remedy which shall allow us the benefit of desirable immigration, and curtail our hospitality to those from foreign lands as little as possible, but which shall yet bar out the elements which are a source of danger to our state? I believe the most effective remedy yet devised is suggested in the striking parallel we have found in the relation between illiteracy and other undesirable qualities, such as criminality, destitution, aversion to country life, ignorance of occupation and slum tendencies. It should be clearly understood that it is not claimed that the ability to read and write is an evidence of good moral character. But the facts above set forth, and others of like nature which could be adduced if space permitted, go to show that in general the illiterate are undesirable, and that the undesirable are illiterate. It is not to be expected that a test of reading and writing would exclude educated criminals and anarchists. We know how to deal with these gentlemen, as was shown at Chicago and Detroit. But the danger to the state comes not so much from

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the few educated cranks as from the mass of ignorant material upon which they can work. If we must admit that some of that material is of American descent, so much the more reason is there for not adding to it from abroad.

The main object is to get some test which can be easily applied without danger of evasion. Undoubtedly, a few desirable immigrants might be excluded under such a law, but that is true of any test, and the educational test seems likely to shut out fewer desirable immigrants than any other, while it does shut the door against those unqualified to ask admission. It should be said, also, that on the one hand such a law would apply only to the less desirable part of our immigration, and would not be a wholesale measure of exclusion—if in force in 1896 it would have excluded about twenty-nine per cent. of the total immigration; and on the other hand, it is a test with which, by the exercise of a reasonable amount of diligence, the immigrant can comply. The ability to read and write his own language does not seem an unreasonable requirement to make in the case of a man who seeks to enter a democracy like ours. At the entrance to our principal port at which immigrants arrive we have placed a statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. The statue carries in one hand a torch and in the other a book; and this properly interpreted means not merely that immigrants shall be educated to a higher degree after they get here, but that they should be able to read the fundamental law of the land by the light of liberty's torch in order to entitle them to enjoy the advantages which liberty has produced.

To sum up the results at which we have arrived we may say:

1. If any immigrant be undesirable for social and political reasons, the mere economic gain from additional unskilled laborers is not of paramount importance.

2. Even if it were, we can supply such laborers by the multiplication of our native and adopted population.

3. Immigration of a lower mental development and standard of living tends to check the natural increase of those already in this country.

4. Undesirable immigration may be defined as that which is destitute of resources, either in money or, still more, in ability and knowledge of a means to support itself; which is generally ignorant; which has criminal tendencies; is averse to country

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life, and congregates in our city slums; which has a low standard of living and little ambition to seek a better, and which has no permanent interests in this country.

5. Considering immigration by nationalities, there is a closely parallel increase of illiteracy and other undesirable qualities.

6. A reading and writing test will, therefore, exclude the dangerous and unassimilable elements by a certain and uniform method; it requires evidence of a rudimentary education indispensable in a democracy, and it will exclude fewer desirable immigrants than any other test.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

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COLLEGE DISCIPLINE.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN, PRESIDENT OF LELAND STANFORD, JR., UNIVERSITY.

It is reported that Bismarck said something like this: "One-third of the students in the German universities destroy themselves by dissipation, one-third wear themselves out by overwork, and the rest govern Europe."

Without insisting on the numerical equality of these three classes, we recognize that something of this sort is true of the college students of America. One part go "to the dogs," one part to the grave, and the rest are the strength of the Republic. It is the art of college discipline to merge the first two classes into the third; to eliminate or reform the idle or dissipated, to transform weakness into strength, and to promote that culture which is power. The men the college should send out are those who have learned the secret of effectiveness. It is the safeguard of republics that in the long run the man outweighs the majority. Enlightened common sense must rule, whatever may be the form of government. It is the function of the university to enlarge the fund of common sense. To this end, primarily, all its powers should be directed.

The American university is changing year by year in its attitude towards matters of discipline. The tendency is to throw on the student, more and more, the responsibility for his work and his conduct. The growth of the elective system in studies carries with it freedom in personal development. The college student is becoming more and more of a man, and that he is treated more as a man is both cause and effect.

In the German system of education we see the opposite extremes in matters of discipline. In the gymnasium the student is under the strictest rule both as to his studies and as to his

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behavior. The student in the university is under no supervision in either regard. Hence the period of transition is one of especial danger. Whatever has been officially forbidden has an additional temptation. When forbidden fruit is suddenly made free, it takes a steady head to refuse it on the sole ground that it is bad. For this reason, the progressive increase of freedom in the American university indicates a wiser policy. It is less wasteful, and it is a function of the university to save as well as to make men.

But it can work for virtue best by indirect means. It should give to the student the widest liberty of action, while at the same time it should not be indifferent to the abuse of such liberty. In matters of character, as well as in matters of study, strength must come from self-activity. To be good is a matter of individual effort. To be wise, which is much the same thing, is a condition which must be attained in the same way.

The best way to cure a student of petty vices and childish trickery is to make a man of him. Give him something real to do and he will not fritter his nervous strength away in conviviality or in degrading associations. But to forbid excesses and abuses, putting nothing in their places, cannot be very effective. Not long ago I had occasion to say: "If your college assume to stand *in loco parentis*, with rod in hand and spy-glasses on its nose, it will not do much in the way of moral training. The fear of punishment will not make young men moral or religious —least of all a punishment so easily evaded as the discipline of a college. If your college claims to be a reform school, your professors detective officers, and your president a chief of police, the student will give them plenty to do. A college cannot take the place of a parent. To claim that it does is mere pretense. You may win by inspiration, not by fear. 'Free should the scholar be; free and brave.' 'The petty restraints that may aid in the control of college sneaks and college snobs are an insult to college men and college women. It is for the training of men and women that colleges exist.'"

If, therefore, the college ceases to exercise its authority to lead young men away from paths of evil, it is not because it does not care whither they stray. It is because it believes that better means to the same end exist. It does not abdicate its authority; it withholds it to be used where it will be most effective.

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It is said sometimes that the American university cannot teach morality. Wisdom can only arise from one's own experience. The college can do nothing for virtue. Its function is to conduct the classes and let the students take care of themselves. Even the idle and profligate, it is said, serve a useful purpose in the college. The fees they pay make the college stronger and hence better for the wise and the studious. Young men, able but penniless, are supported by the fees the idle pay for coaching, and even if the college does them little good, they get what they pay for.

I do not think this a wise view of the case. The college can do much for wisdom and virtue if it makes them typical of its work. It can strengthen the forces that make for righteousness. Its greatest power is that which comes from personal association. Each college has its own "atmosphere," the resultant of influences of personality. The addition of $15,000 a year to the income of a college is dearly bought by the presence of a hundred loafers. Half the vice in colleges is the vice of corrosion. "A good fellow who is nobody's enemy but his own" cannot go "to the dogs" or "to the devil" without taking others with him. No man can be vicious to himself alone, and the corrosive effects of an unwholesome life are felt throughout the college community. If the good a college does to a man is less than the mischief due to his presence, it is well to get rid of him. This consideration should, I think, be the basis of college discipline. No man should use the university as a place for idle pleasure or for dissipation. If no good comes to him, then he must bring evil to others. Many a man who would have wrecked his life will save it through the influences of earnest men. The development of such influence is the most important feature of the recent growth of the American university. The strength of earnest men is permeating the whole system. The freedom of the elective system has its best feature in the freedom of contact with genuine men. The first of Bismarck's categories is growing smaller in American universities. It is no longer fashionable to be "fast." It is disreputable to grow old before one's time. Let the pleasure lover go to work or go home.

The second class, the "pale student," who crouches over his books burning the midnight oil, "blanches his cheek" and "brings pale death upon him in his prime," is in need of similar

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treatment. He, too, fortunately, is passing out of fashion. The prizes are no longer given to him. He is no longer the pride of the teacher, and he ought not to be. The ranks of the faculty are no longer recruited from his class. Culture and anæmia are no longer related. "The color of life is red." An education which does not disclose the secret of power is unworthy the name. The growth of college athletics, whatever its problems and whatever its excesses, is a movement toward strength. Whatever makes for personal force is in the long run an agency toward good morals.

As my opinion is asked as to the practical ways of raising the standard of behavior in colleges, I may be allowed to explain the methods in vogue in the institution under my direction. These methods may not be the best, but they are the best that I know, else I should have taken some other.

The whole matter of the control of students in Stanford University is vested in the hands of a committee of five members of the faculty. This committee has power to act without reporting to the faculty as a whole. The rest of the staff of instructors have nothing whatever to do with matters of discipline. The vesting of this power in the hands of a committee rather than in the faculty as a whole has many great advantages. The small committee can act quickly, consistently and silently. A student dropped from the rolls leaves without publicity, and without the disturbance which comes from dealing with delinquents by the clumsy methods of the faculty. The institution has no rules to be broken. Nothing allowed by the laws of California is forbidden by the faculty. Hence, in general, no punishments are threatened or administered. A student is fit to stay in the university or else he is not. If he make mistakes or commit misdemeanors, he may be forgiven if he have the strength to do better. If his character is bad and nothing can be made of him, the university is no place for him and has no need for his fees.

The general function of the Committee on Discipline is summed up in the following letter of instruction recently issued to the chairman:

"To Dr. Wilbur W. Thoburn, Chairman of the Committee on Student Affairs:

"The number of persons seeking the advantages of the University is constantly greater than we can care for. To do the best for those who are

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in earnest, the University faculty can waste no time on the idle, dissipated, or undeserving.

"It is a part of the duty of your committee to eliminate unworthy persons from the rolls of the University classes. You have the authority to request the withdrawal of any student whose presence for any reason seems undesirable.

"It is desired that you should exercise this authority not only on those found guilty of specific acts of immorality or of dishonesty, but on any whose personal influence is objectionable. Those who are dissipated, profligate, intemperate, tricky or foul of tongue should be removed, though no specific act of wrong-doing may be proved or charged against them.

"It is desired also that you should look somewhat after the welfare of students who subject themselves to unreasonable privations. An education obtained at the cost of a shattered nervous system is not worth anything, and your committee is given authority to check excesses of zeal for work, as it checks other excesses.

"Signed by the President.

"Dated August 28, 1897."

Another committee, that on "Doubtful Cases," considers questions of scholarship only, and in like manner eliminates those too idle, too stupid, or too weak to maintain their standing, and this without reference to the moral character of the person in question. Usually the profligate student is idle, or at least irregular in his work. Therefore, the action of one committee is usually complementary to that of the other. But the number of "doubtful cases" is usually in excess of those regarded as incurably vicious.

Still other committees look in a general way after the ethics and hygiene of athletics, and of student enterprises in general. The policy in all cases is to act through the students, and not over them; not to meddle with anything which can work itself out aright through student agencies; yet not to be indifferent or powerless when affairs are going wrong.

I am asked to say a word about hazing. This name is applied to a species of ruffianism which owes its continuance from year to year to the power of tradition rather than to any natural desire to do mean or cowardly things. It is difficult to deal with it effectively, for two reasons. The one is that it shades off by slight degrees into the mere practical joke, and the right to play such jokes is dear to the college man. More serious is the fact that hazing is a crime of the night. It is usually performed under conditions of secrecy, and the victim is not often willing to turn state's evidence. With no secret police, and no desire to employ such instruments, the college authorities are usually

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powerless to detect the wrong-doer. A general remedy is to get rid not only of the men guilty of hazing, but also of the kind of men who are likely to take part in it. Usually a ruffian is known as such by his character as well as by his acts. If the ruffians are eliminated on general principles, the residue, being gentlemen, will act like gentlemen.

A form of hazing just now prevalent is the "rush." This name is applied to a rough-and-tumble fight, more or less premeditated, between the freshmen and sophomores. The "rush" may be of two sorts, the one an unprovoked attack taking place on the staircases, in passage-ways, or in the class-rooms, or on the streets at night; or it may be a sort of match game on the open field, resulting from a challenge from one class to the other. The first form of rush is intolerable, and could hardly take place more than once in a well-ordered institution. The second has some redeeming features, and is not without its defenders as a "manly sport." It is, however, often dangerous in its violence, much more so than football and other orderly games. In all legitimate games there is some sort of time limit, and some rule as to fair play. Training of some kind is presupposed, and those of frail physique may keep away if they desire. But not so with the rush. Class spirit impels every young man to stand by his associates.

The rush, moreover, is likely to leave an aftermath of guerilla warfare or of attempts at retaliation, and some cases of personal hazing can be distinctly traced to it. In general, any performance of college students which tends to loosen the bonds of personal courtesy has a bad effect. The rush in all its forms makes for rowdyism. Rowdyism is not the worst of vices, but it is a vice, and its influence is always and everywhere opposed to manliness.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

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TORPEDO BOATS IN NAVAL WARFARE.

BY BENJ. MICOU, FORMER CHIEF CLERK OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

THE fifty-third Congress authorized six torpedo boats, some of which are now completed, and since then thirteen more have been authorized and contracts for them awarded. This means that a new element of strength, and one of great value, is to be added to our navy. Torpedo vessels furnish the most destructive means of attack known, cost less and can be constructed more quickly than any other modern warships, yet we are in the number possessed at the bottom of the list of naval powers, and will still be when we have completed our present building programme.

We have now but five torpedo boats, the "Cushing," with a speed of 22.48 knots, the "Ericsson" and "Foote" with a speed of some 24 knots, and the "Porter" and "Dupont" which are 26-knot boats. So, when the ones now building go into commission we shall have 21; quite an increase over five, but still very few in comparison with other countries. Taking last year's figures, England has 256, France 244, Russia 185, Germany 155, and Spain 46. Of England's 256, 42 are of the class known as torpedo-boat destroyers, or vessels which, in addition to being equipped for attacking with torpedoes, are specially designed to destroy other torpedo boats. The trial speeds of these 42 boats vary from 26 to 28 knots. England also has 28 torpedo vessels building, designed to attain a speed of 30 knots, and has just let contracts for several others designed to attain a speed of 32 knots.

A torpedo boat is said to have been launched in New York harbor in 1776, but if this be true the history of the craft did not survive the launching, for it does not appear to have ever

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been heard from again. A drifting torpedo directed against a frigate, but which missed its aim, is reported to have destroyed a schooner at New London, in 1777, and we know that in 1807 Robert Fulton invented a torpedo and experimented with it, though these experiments led to no immediate practical results.

It was not until our Civil War that the world received its first lesson in this novel and destructive method of fighting. We did not, however, follow up and develop the new mode of warfare we had introduced, for after 1865 the navy stood still for nearly seventeen years. Our people seemed tired of all that related to war and nothing modern was undertaken. In 1882 we did not have a modern vessel, and thirteen single-turreted monitors built in 1862 and 1863, armed with old-fashioned, muzzle-loading, smooth-bore guns, and thirty-seven unprotected wooden cruisers, composed our entire fighting force.

It was in 1883 that we commenced a modern navy. Vessels requiring most time for construction received the first consideration, and those which, no matter how destructive, could be built in a year had to wait until cruisers and battleships were secured. Thus it is that Europe has outstripped us in all that relates to torpedoes.

The torpedo boat is merely an agent for rendering more effective the torpedo, and need of it was felt long before the idea was conceived of designing a boat for this special purpose.

The mobile torpedo, when first invented, was used on a spar attached to a large vessel, but this offered no possibility of attacking an enemy unawares. The attack must always be open, and it was soon discovered that an open attack greatly circumscribed the possibilities of the torpedo. To overcome this difficulty, and increase the scope of torpedo operations, smaller boats were used to which to attach spars, and the steam cutters carried by our larger vessels, being the only small boats available, were pressed into service. It was from such a cutter that Cushing exploded the torpedo which destroyed the Confederate ram "Albemarle" in Roanoke Sound, and the practice continued in our navy of equipping all ordinary steam cutters for torpedo service until within the last ten years. This, however, was only done in the absence of a more desirable boat, for the noise of the machinery and the lack of speed very soon marked the cutters as unsuitable for this class of work.

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The torpedoes used during our Civil War were the offspring of emergency. Haste in manufacture and scant knowledge of the science of torpedo construction resulted in producing very imperfect weapons, which sometimes failed totally to accomplish what was expected of them. The chance of such failure was increased by a lack of experience in operating torpedoes and the inadequate appliances at hand for that purpose. These torpedoes, when not defective, were, however, most destructive when skillfully handled, and one writer, Mr. J. F. Scharf, attributes the loss of thirty-one vessels to torpedoes exploded by the Confederates.

The deepest interest was awakened among the maritime nations of Europe in this deadly method of attack, and they began at once the development of the torpedo and all that was necessary to render it a reliable and certain weapon. With better torpedoes and wider experience in controlling and guiding them came consideration of the character of boat best adapted for their use. Such a boat must avoid observation as far as possible and therefore should not be conspicuous. It must offer a poor target to an enemy's guns and therefore should be small. It must escape pursuit and therefore should be fast. Keeping in view these general requirements, Thornycroft built for the Norwegian government, in 1873, the first vessel ever constructed solely for torpedo service. This vessel, which is still in existence, is 57 feet long, has a displacement of 7½ tons, and has made a speed of 14.97 knots. Her present remarkably good condition argues well for the lifetime of this class of vessels. Though she proved highly satisfactory, and met fully all that could be hoped for from the first boat representing a new departure in naval construction, she was regarded for four years as an experiment, and during that time no countries followed where Norway had led. In 1877, though, Russia commenced in earnest to build torpedo boats, ordering as many as 100 during that year, and England built one, the "Lightning," which proving satisfactory, she ordered twelve others. One of these twelve attained a speed of 22 knots. She, however, practically stopped at this point, and for seven years continually decried torpedo boats and stubbornly refused to treat them as worthy of her consideration. In 1884 she only had 19 as against Russia's 115 and France's 50, and it was not until she was driven to it by this activity upon the part

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of her neighbors that she entered upon the building programme that gives her to-day more torpedo boats than any other nation.

In naval warfare the powers of destruction and protection have held each other a close race. Whenever the penetration of the projectile has been increased, the armor plate has been thickened or hardened or both. The torpedo is the only weapon that stands unchallenged by the art of defence, and for this reason it is hard to overestimate its value.

Nothing so deadly has ever been introduced into warfare. It offers but two alternatives—avoidance or destruction. In it powers are concentrated that do not admit of defence. The torpedo net, a steel netting arranged to be hung around a ship from spars, is probably more effective than any other defence that has been tried; but these nets are very difficult to handle, impede the speed of the ship, and have been rendered vulnerable by a device attached to the torpedo, and known as a "net cutter."

As with artillery directed against unprotected men, which must be silenced before it becomes ineffective, so it is with the torpedo boat, which must be put out of action before it is inoperative. There is no protection against a torpedo if it strikes its mark and explodes. The most powerful battleship ever built may become its victim as readily as the lightest tug. When the torpedo boats of France became a menace to England, she quickly saw that she could not rely on nets, or any of the devices for defence that had been proposed. There was but one means of protection and that was to hunt down and destroy the torpedo boats of the enemy. This means that she at once directed all her energies to securing a vessel that could be relied upon to run down torpedo boats. She built a number of vessels designed to do this and these have become known as torpedo boat catchers. They all, however, proved utter failures, for as in nature so in naval architecture there are some inexorable laws. One of these is that within certain limits speed is not appreciably affected by size, and to secure greater speed the size of the vessel must either rise above or fall below these limits. To rise above makes the vessel so large as to be suitable only for a heavy battery, and to fall below brings it within the dimensions of a large sized torpedo boat. Though this law was well known as a matter of theory, it took England six years to learn that she could not disregard it in practice, and during that time she

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stayed within the prohibited limits, producing the most ignominious failures, and the more marked her failures the more persistent were her efforts to attain speed without constructing a vessel either large enough or small enough to accomplish that purpose. None of the catchers ever proved capable of catching a torpedo boat. The fastest one only made twenty knots under the most favorable circumstances, two knots less than the speed made by one of the first twelve torpedo boats England built. In addition to lacking speed, the catchers were too large to be handled as quickly or easily as the torpedo boats. They were structurally weak and their seaworthiness was often questioned.

It now looked as though England would never solve the problem of protection against torpedo boats. All the valuable time and the immense amount of money she had expended on the catchers had been wasted. Her failures had attracted the attention of the world and it was apparent she would only render herself ridiculous by pursuing further the theory of construction on which these boats had been built. So in 1893, much chagrined and discouraged by her failures, she commenced the construction of a vessel upon an entirely different plan. This time she fell below the prescribed limits which had stood in the way of former success, and produced a vessel which was a large-sized torpedo boat capable of carrying a light battery. This craft was a marked success and exceeded in both speed and seaworthiness the most sanguine expectations. It was the first of the class of vessels now known as torpedo boat destroyers, which have entirely superseded the catchers and have been adopted by the foremost maritime nations. Vessels of this character can be built of great strength and with a seaworthiness that admits of their going anywhere, in any weather, and they have attained a speed of 30 knots and even more.

If no wars await us in the near future, and torpedo boat building is continued as a permanent feature of our navy, we will have gained rather than lost by our delay, for we can take advantage of the experience acquired abroad and avoid the difficulties that have been met and overcome there. Greater delay, though, would be dangerous, for there is always the possibility of war, and at present nothing would justify assuming that we are to have

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perpetual peace. Furthermore, there is now nothing to gain and everything to lose by delay, for the torpedo boat has passed the experimental stage and radical changes in its development are no longer probable.

With the thirteen torpedo boats recently ordered in this country, every precaution has been taken to secure the latest improvements, the contractors not being confined in any instance to the Department's plans, but being allowed to bid also on plans of their own. In fact, the proposals of the Department have been general in their nature so as to induce shipbuilders to include in their own plans every modern improvement that competition could suggest. In this way the government has been able to avail itself not only of the knowledge of its own constructors, but also of that of the shipbuilders. This it has not hesitated to do, as is shown by the awards; for in all but the case of one of these boats contracts have been awarded on contractors' plans.

For the ten of the thirteen boats contracted for in October last, the awards were for three different classes of boats, four being for 20-knot, three 22½-knot and three for 30-knot boats. This classification resulted from adjusting the available appropriation to the greatest number of suitable boats procurable, careful consideration, of course, being given to what was needed in view of the almost total lack of torpedo boats of any description and the character of work that would most likely be required of them.

It was very clear from the plans submitted that the shipbuilders had examined carefully the latest boats abroad. The Union Iron Works was awarded the contract for a vessel of the torpedo-boat destroyer type. This vessel, which has been named the "Farragut," when completed, will be similar to the "Desperate," the latest torpedo-boat destroyer built by England, and it is safe to say that the departures by the Union Iron Works from the plans of the "Desperate" are in favor of a more formidable and effective boat. The Bath Iron Works, the successful bidders for the other two 30-knot boats, consulted in the preparation of their plans Professor Byles, of the University of Glasgow, the designer of the swift ocean steamers "Paris" and "New York." This company was so confident of what it could accomplish that it exceeded the requirements of

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the law and guaranteed a speed of 30½ knots. The three boats for which contracts have just been awarded in August are all required to make 30 knots.

There is every reason to believe that all these torpedo boats will fulfill expectations. From the days of the old sailing vessels, we have built the best war ships of their respective types in the world, and as our shipbuilders have spared no pains to acquaint themselves with this new type of vessel, it is not probable they will fall below their former record in any particular. We are the superiors of almost all countries in the quality of the engines we build, and the engines are a great consideration in attaining such high speed.

There have been no great wars since the introduction of the torpedo boat, but the performances of this new craft in the wars that have taken place leaves no doubt as to its merits. In the Russo-Turkish war, a Turkish ironclad was sunk in an encounter with a torpedo boat. In the Chilian revolution two torpedo boats attacked and sank in the harbor of Caldera an ironclad ship, the "Blanco Encalada." The strength of the Brazilian revolution lay almost entirely in the "Aquidaban," a second-class battleship, which came in and out of the harbor of Rio at will without regard to the guns from the forts. In fact, these guns were so powerless against her that it seemed at one time that she might render the rebellion successful, although the army ashore was on the side of the government. On the 16th of April, 1893, the torpedo boat "Gustavo Sampaio" attacked and destroyed the "Aquidaban," and this practically ended the war. The torpedo boat was struck during this attack three times in the hull and thirty-five times in the upper works, but sustained no serious damage, and the only person hurt aboard was a cadet, who lost his finger. During the Chinese-Japanese war, Japan enjoyed a great advantage through its torpedo boats. At Wei-Hai-Wei the Japanese with eight torpedo boats attacked the Chinese fleet, so disabling the iron-clad "Ting Yuen" that she had to be beached and abandoned. This was not accomplished, however, without the loss of two torpedo boats. The Japanese made a second attack with five boats and destroyed the Chinese schoolship and a tender without losing any of their vessels.

Because of their destructive character nothing is more de-

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moralizing to an enemy than torpedoes, and the moral effect of being equipped for this kind of warfare is not to be despised, especially where the object of a navy is, as it should be, to keep peace. Fear of torpedoes was all that prevented the French from entering the Prussian harbors during the Franco-Prussian war, and the Japanese from going up the river at Yalu. There was, perhaps, no cooler act of courage during our late war than at Mobile, where Farragut, only a moment after the "Tecumseh" had struck a torpedo and gone down before his eyes, shot forward with his flagship directly over the course where he knew the torpedoes had been planted for the destruction of his fleet, signalling, as he went, to the warning from the "Brooklyn" of "Torpedoes ahead," "Damn the torpedoes." Captain Mahan in his life of Farragut, writing of this passage of the "Hartford" over these torpedoes, says "the cases of the torpedoes were heard by many on board knocking against the copper of the bottom, and many of the primers snapped audibly, but no torpedo exploded." Farragut's prompt action restored confidence to the wavering line, but had any one of the torpedoes exploded all would have been over.

Since then, such obstacles as Farragut braved have become only temporary, for devices have been introduced for cutting the exploding cable and hauling up torpedoes, which in a few hours could remove such defenses as protected Mobile harbor. This is but another reason why we need torpedo boats, which are now the only reliable appliances for carrying on torpedo warfare. Another and a more potent reason is that even vessels of this class cannot be built in a day, and when built should not be placed in the hands of raw and inexperienced crews. These boats can carry only a small number of men, the accommodations being necessarily cramped. The service is much harder than ordinary sea service, the periods of rest shorter and more irregular, and the nervous strain almost inconceivable. The mere vibration from a torpedo boat driven through the water at thirty knots an hour is known to have produced sea-sickness among some of the oldest tars. This character of warfare is now conducted on the most scientific principles, and a confidence born of familiarity with handling these crafts and a knowledge of precisely what they can do counts for more than physical courage. This familiarity must come from practice and experience.

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Considering the quality and number of other war vessels we now have, the character and extent of our coast and the unprotected condition of our harbors, the efficiency of our navy can be increased more quickly by building torpedo boats than in any other way. The building of other classes of vessels should not stop in order that torpedo boat building should go on, but we cannot afford to neglect any longer this important element of naval strength. Taking recent bids as a basis of estimate, some twenty-five 30-knot torpedo boats or twenty or more torpedo boat destroyers can be built, including their armor and armament, for the cost of a single battle-ship complete.

BENJ. MICOU.

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CANADA AND THE DINGLEY BILL.

BY JOHN CHARLTON, M. P., CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE United States is a self-engrossed nation. Its progress has been marvellous. The advance from a population of 3,900,000 to one of 72,000,000 in 107 years, the spread of settlement from the Atlantic seaboard border over the broad areas of the Mississippi Valley, and to the far-distant line of the Pacific coast, and the great development in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have been secured at the cost of energetic and devoted application to the work of nation building. The founding and development of States; the careful evolving of political institutions from the plastic materials ready at hand; the settling of the great issue between slavery and freedom on the forum, in the legislative hall and on the battle-field, and the subsequent decision of important questions have left little time and developed scant taste for attention to matters outside of the Union save as they came into immediate contact with American interests.

Facing the northern border of the United States a nation is rising above the political horizon. Its goings forth are modest as yet, but its institutions have rounded into form, and a compact confederation has taken the place of disjointed and jealous colonies. A government formed upon the British model gives to it free and stable institutions and power of cohesion, while the erection of separate provincial governments insures provincial autonomy and provincial control of local questions and interests. A written constitution confers upon the Dominion government its powers, and carefully defines the respective spheres of action of federal and provincial organizations.

In all of its political, social, and business interests this young nation must come into contact with the United States. Perhaps no question having to do with the problems of the future is en-

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titled to command closer attention in both of these communities than what the nature of this impingement is to be, and the people of the United States may profitably spend a little time in arriving at an intelligent estimate as to the extent, resources, character, and probable future of this northern neighbor.

Close investigation will inevitably develop some startling facts. Rudyard Kipling styles Canada "Our Lady of the Snows." Canada repudiates the title, and points to the fact that she has a million square miles of arable land, with a climate suitable for the production of the cereals, and that from the products of her own soil she can easily sustain a population of 75,000,000. The great undeveloped wheat-growing area of the continent is in her Northwest Territories, embracing the valleys of the Red and the Assiniboine rivers, the valley of the great Saskatchewan, and more than 300,000 square miles in the Athabasca and Peace River districts of the great Mackenzie basin. Throughout this district latitude does not fix the location of summer isotherms, and isothermal lines curve sharply to the northwest west of Lake Superior. At Prince Albert, upon the Saskatchewan, wheat is less liable to injury from frost than in the wheat districts of Manitoba, and the same is probaby true of the districts that invite cultivation in the Peace and Athabasca River valleys. The opening of spring, the blooming of spring flowers, and the bursting of the buds of deciduous trees are just about simultaneous at Ottawa, St. Paul, Winnipeg, Fort Dunvegan, on Peace River, in latitude 56.40, and even still further north, on the Laird River, and the Great Slave Lake, in latitude 60. Next to the Mississippi, the Mackenzie is the greatest river upon the continent. It is the outlet of great inland seas, having a coast line of 4,000 miles, and an area equal to that of the great lakes on the northern border of the United States. This vast basin, with its outlet in the Arctic Ocean, though much inferior in agricultural capabilities to the Canadian region south of it, is estimated, after careful consideration of the testimony of explorers, geological survey parties, missionaries, and Hudson Bay factors and employees, to contain 300,000 square miles suitable for wheat, 400,000 suitable for barley, 650,000 suitable for potatoes, and 860,000 suitable for pasturage; and of the 1,260,000 square miles contained in the basin, 400,000 square miles only comprise the treeless barren grounds over which vast herds of the cariboo and musk ox roam.

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As exploration of the vast territory possessed by Canada progresses, its resources and value become more apparent. The interior of Labrador has been found to contain vast forests of valuable spruce. All the lakes of the far north teem with whitefish, and other valuable varieties. The rivers are stocked with salmon. Hudson Bay, a great Canadian *mare clausum* 900 miles long and 600 miles wide, contains great piscatorial wealth. On the head waters of the western affluents of the Mackenzie River is an auriferous region 150,000 square miles in extent. On the upper waters of the Yukon, in Canadian territory, the placers of the Klondike and other streams have yielded the first installment of their fabulous wealth. On the west side of the Rocky Mountains, a metalliferous region 1,300 miles long and 400 miles wide is rich in gold-bearing rocks, while north of Lake Superior and in the region surrounding the Lake-of-the-Woods great wealth of the precious metals is being developed. The older Provinces are rich in agricultural resources, timber, minerals, and fisheries.

The Canadian Northwest seeks emancipation from the burden of heavy freight rates to the Atlantic seaboard. The Hudson Bay Company has demonstrated the practicability of the navigation of Hudson Straits. The only question is as to the length of time these Straits remain open. A careful exploration is being made this year by the Canadian government, and if it be found, as is claimed, that navigation is practicable for four or five months in the year, the great wheat-growing areas of the Canadian Northwest will find a new avenue to England, and the wheat fields of the Peace River and Saskatchewan Valleys will be as near European markets as those of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

A striking illustration of the facilities possessed by Northwestern Canada for internal communication is furnished by investigations made in connection with a project for reaching the Yukon mineral district by short lines of railway, and navigable stretches on a course known as the Harvey Route. By this proposed line, Moose Factory on Hudson Bay will be reached by a railway line of 250 miles from Missanabie on the Canadian Pacific Railway; thence by deep sea navigation down Hudson Bay 1,200 miles to the head of Chesterfield Inlet; thence by railway 175 miles to the navigable waters connecting with Great Slave Lake; thence by steamer route 1,400 miles to the mouth of the Mack-

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enzie River, and thence by railway 50 miles to Porcupine River, a navigable tributary of the Yukon.

These statements, necessarily brief and in outline, may, it is hoped, rouse the curiosity of the reader, and lead to more extended investigations of the character and capabilities of the Great North Land, which, over a generation ago, William H. Seward declared was destined to become the Russia of America.

The geographical, ethnological, and physical conditions pertaining to the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada are of such a character as not only to invite intimate commercial and business relations, but to give to these relations such strength that hitherto the efforts of hostile fiscal legislation have not availed to destroy the commercial intercourse existing between the two peoples. The volume of business, of course, has been very seriously affected by legislation. The exports of Canada to the United States have remained nearly stationary since 1866, when the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was abrogated, but still transactions of great volume are engaged in. To the careful observer, indeed, the extent of these transactions furnishes a striking suggestion as to what their volume might be in case of uninterrupted commercial intercourse. The geographical and trade affinities between the two countries are of the most striking character. The Maritime Provinces of the Dominion form naturally a geographical and commercial part of the seaboard of the American Union. Ontario and Quebec are closely drawn by geographical conditions to the Middle and Eastern States. Manitoba and the great Canadian Northwest naturally gravitate to the Mississippi Valley, and, if legislative impediments did not intervene, would find their commercial centres in St. Paul and Chicago; and British Columbia is drawn by natural conditions in the direction of more intimate commercial relations with the American States of the Pacific slope.

As to the desirability of close commercial relations, a careful examination of the question leaves no room to doubt that such a condition of matters would be equally advantageous to both sections. If commercial barriers and fiscal restrictions between States, or between groups of States, in the Union would not be desirable, neither can it possibly be shown that such restrictions could be beneficial to any interest involved when applied to a group of States which, though north of the American

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boundary line, form a natural part of the geographical whole to which the American Union belongs.

The provisions of the American Tariff Bill which became law on the 24th of July last, when contrasted with the tariff policy of the Dominion, must suffer by that contrast as regards the liberality of the respective measures. From the following epitome of the trade conditions of Canada for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, the last for which full returns have been received, it will be seen that the United States furnished Canada more than one-half of her total imports, and enjoyed access for manufactures and other dutiable goods into her market at a low average rate of duty, and had entry for a most satisfactory list of free goods.

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN EXPORTS AND IMPORTS; RATES OF DUTY, AND PERCENTAGES OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES FOR THE YEAR 1896.

Total imports for consumption in 1896	$110,587,480
Total exports the produce of Canada	121,013,852
Total amount of duty collected upon imports	20,219,073
Percentage of duty on total value of goods imported—dutiable and free	18.28
Percentage of duty on total amount of dutiable goods entered for consumption	30.00

	From United States.	From Great Britain.	From all other countries.
Imports into Canada for consumption	$58,574,024	$32,979,742	$19,033,714
Percentage of total imports	53	28.08	18.92
Imports on free list	$29,472,378	$3,613,568	$5,261,730
Dutiable imports	$29,101,646	$24,366,179	$13,771,934
Percentage duty on entire amount of imports	13.26	22.31	26.75
Percentage duty on dutiable imports	26.25	30.02	36.97
Amount of duty collected on imports	$7,767,992	$7,358,514	$5,092,567

	To United States.	To Great Britain.	To all other countries.
Exports Canadian produce from Canada	$14,448,410	$66,690,288	$9,875,154
Balance of trade	$14,125,614 In favor of the United States.	$33,710,546 In favor of Canada.	$9,159,560 Against Canada.

This statement warrants the assertion that the Canadian fiscal

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policy is marked by moderation in the percentage of duties levied, and that the results prove that the United States was not discriminated against, but that on the contrary it has a standing in the Canadian market more favorable to its interests than either Great Britain or other foreign countries.

An analysis of Canadian trade returns shows that of the enormous export of American products to the Dominion, a considerable proportion consists of manufactured goods. Of the free list of $29,472,000, $5,380,000 were manufactures; aside from the portion of unenumerated goods amounting to $2,200,000, of which $500,000 probably consisted of manufactures. The import of dutiable manufactures from the United States the same year amounted to $21,500,000, inclusive of estimated amount of unenumerated goods classed as manufactures amounting to $750,000, making a total of $27,380,000, in round numbers, of manufactures imported into Canada from the United States in 1896. The total imports of Canada from Great Britain for the same year for consumption were $32,979,000, and the amount of manufactures imported from England was little, if at all, in excess of the amount imported from the United States. This statement warrants the assertion that Canada is the best customer that the United States possesses for the product of her mills and factories; and it will perhaps awaken reflection in the mind of the American statesman to be informed that when Canada seeks to place the products of her own labor in the American market in exchange for this enormous amount of manufactured goods, one-fourth of which comes into Canada free of duty, and the balance of which pays an average duty of less than 27 per cent., she is graciously permitted to make the exchange upon condition that duty is paid at the rate of $2 per thousand feet on lumber; 100 per cent. on barley; 27 per cent. and upwards on cattle; $30 per head on horses and mules; $1.50 per head on sheep; 45 cents per bushel on malt; 45 cents per bushel on beans; 70 per cent. on butter and cheese; 50 per cent. on hay; 75 per cent. on onions, and other agricultural and animal products in proportion.

A comparison between the amounts of importation from the United States and from Great Britain of certain classes of dutiable goods, will be suggestive as to the items in which the United States seems to command an advantage over England in

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the Canadian market. A few of the chief items presenting strikingly this contrast are given:

IMPORTS INTO CANADA FOR THE YEAR 1896 OF CERTAIN CLASSES OF DUTIABLE GOODS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND FROM THE UNITED STATES.

	Great Britain.	United States.
Bicycles, tricycles and parts thereof	$134,876	$916,225
Books, periodicals, etc	219,012	507,308
Brass and manufactures thereof	41,388	264,147
Clocks, clock movements, etc	6,345	85,788
Carriages of all kinds	3,287	308,127
Copper and manufactures thereof	8,238	69,227
Electric apparatus, etc	6,581	294,806
Drugs, dyes, chemicals, etc	247,831	603,927
Fertilizers	1,162	42,194
Gold and silver, manufactures of	67,892	222,036
Gunpowder and explosives	23,939	112,186
Inks	19,641	55,881
Iron and steel, manufactures of	2,351,518	5,630,499
Jewelry of gold, etc	38,628	231,265
Leather and manufactures thereof	113,567	1,037,431
Marble, manufactures thereof	4,742	68,266
Metal and manufactures thereof	61,288	231,006
Musical instruments	19,854	208,504
Paper and manufactures thereof	254,072	672,448
Post-office parcels and packages	72,828	269,955
Twine, all kinds, and manufactures thereof	61,288	179,193
Tinware	4,316	58,682
Watches and parts thereof	6,738	246,853
	$3,769,031	$12,315,954

It is evident from the foregoing statement that the Dominion of Canada furnishes a field for the introduction of American manufactures which is worth cultivating, and the fact should impress itself upon the American manufacturers that this field, which is close at hand and promises, if properly cultivated, rapid expansion of business, can be fully retained only upon conditions of mutual advantage. The leaders of the Liberal party, which came into power in June, 1896, have always desired to promote more liberal trade relations between the two countries. At the very opening of their overtures in that direction they were met by the Dingley bill. If it is supposed that Canada will continue to furnish a free list for American manufactures, consisting largely of drugs, dyes, chemicals, nets, seines, lines and twines, metals, iron and steel and manufactures thereof, and other articles, to the extent of some $6,000,000, and a market for American dutiable manufactures to the extent in round numbers of $21,500,000 at a moderate average rate of less than 27 per cent., and will submit to having its own importations into the United States, sent in

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exchange for these products, taxed as under the provisions of the Dingley bill, the reckoning is made without the consent of the host. The adverse balance of trade of $14,125,000 a year existing under the Wilson bill, and the aggravated conditions likely to result from the Dingley bill, will in that case demand a solution upon one of two lines—one of which the American government must select—either the increase of our exports to the United States to an extent commensurate with our imports from that country, and on conditions as favorable as those upon which American imports are received into Canada; or a diminution of our imports from the United States through sharp and effective discrimination in favor of the mother land.

Last year the Canadian balance of trade against Great Britain was $33,750,000. This is Jubilee year. Overtures have been made for the consolidation of the Empire. The principle of fair play would undoubtedly give to England better conditions in our markets than she has hitherto enjoyed, and the application of the same principle to our relations with the United States would imperatively demand very radical changes in the American fiscal system as relating to ourselves.

During the fiscal year of 1896, while we gave the United States, as before stated, a free list of $29,472,000, we received from the United States a free list of less than $20,000,000. This amount the Dingley bill has cut down by transferring from the free to the dutiable list forest products, hides, wool, and minor articles. The result will be that our free list under the new tariff will, in all probability, fall considerably below $5,000,000. If it is supposed that Canada will rest content to give a free list of $29,500,000 in exchange for one of $5,000,000, that anticipation will hardly be realized.

An impression prevails in the United States that Canada is dependent upon that country for a market for its agricultural, animal, mineral, and forest products. It is true that the mineral products of Canada do find a market almost exclusively in the United States. Our forest products were marketed for the year 1896 in different countries in the following proportions:

British Empire	$12,530,000
United States	13,528,000
All other countries	1,117,000

Canada, prior to 1890, imposed an export duty upon logs de-

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signed for American sawmills. In 1890 logs were exempted from export duty in consideration of a reduction of the lumber duty to $1. No objection would now be made to the free export of sawlogs and of pulp wood for the use of American mills, if the lumber duty were placed at $1 per thousand feet. The export of sawlogs and pulp wood, which has reached $3,000,000 per annum and will rapidly increase, might justly be considered a fair compensation for free lumber, and beyond question a $1 American import rate upon lumber with no Canadian export duty on logs and pulp wood would give to the United States the best of the arrangement.

In agricultural products, and animals and their products, the condition of the trade between the two countries is not such as is generally supposed. Since 1866 these products have been subjected to duties more or less heavy upon entering the United States. This the American farmer has been made to believe was necessary for his protection from the cheap products of the soil of Canada. The parties in favor of a protective policy who were the real beneficiaries of the measure, but who would be in a hopeless minority on a popular vote, secured the co-operation of the American farmer by ringing all of the changes upon the alleged necessity for this protection, which has proved almost entirely a delusion. If the Canadian farmer is denied access to the American markets for products, the surplus of which both countries are marketing in England, the theatre of competition between the two countries will merely be transferred from the United States to the English market. In fact, the practical result of the American agricultural duties has been to force the Canadian farmer into this competition in England, and to teach him that he is quite able to compete with his American brother, and in some instances he has achieved most decided successes. Indeed, the application of the extreme protective policy to farm products by the United States has proved in some instances a blessing in disguise to the Canadian, by emancipating him from dependence upon that country. This fact is most strikingly illustrated in the lines of hog products and cheese. Being excluded from the American market by heavy duties upon pork and swine, the farmers and packers of Canada set about ascertaining what grade of goods would best suit the English taste, with a determination to shape their business in such a way as to meet that

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taste. The result is that Canadian bacon and hams so far lead the American product in the English market that, during all of the present season, hogs have been worth at railway stations throughout the Province of Ontario on an average twenty-five per cent. more than in the stock market at Buffalo or Chicago, and the business of furnishing meats to England is growing with phenomenal rapidity. In the cheese market the Canadian cheese maker has largely supplanted American cheese in Great Britain, and the exports of that article for the fiscal year 1897 have reached the sum of $15,262,000; $15,232,000 of which goes to Great Britain. With the ambition and courage springing from successes already secured, Canada now reaches forth for the same vantage-ground in beef, butter, eggs, small fruits, and other farm products. The Canadian producer will be met by the good-will of the English consumer, who will give him the preference, other things being equal. To render the success of this movement more probable the government has embarked in the business of aiding to furnish cold storage at creameries, on railroad trains, and on steamship lines, so that meats, butter, eggs, poultry, and other perishable articles can be laid down at English and Scotch centres in prime condition.

The trend of business is very well illustrated by the trade returns of 1896 as applied to agricultural products, and animals and their products. In that year our export of agricultural products, the produce of Canada, to the United States was $3,233,000; our import of agricultural products from the United States entered for consumption was $3,262,000 on the dutiable list and $5,263,000 on the free list—a total of $8,526,000, which included raw cotton, and unmanufactured tobacco to the extent of $4,108,000. During the same year our export of animals and their products to the United States, the produce of Canada, amounted to $3,341,000, while our imports of animals and their products from the United States for consumption amounted to $851,000 on the dutiable list, and $2,873,000 on the free list—an amount of imports in this line in excess of our exports to the United States of $383,000. This effectually disposes of the claim that Canada is dependent upon the United States for a market for animals and their products, and for agricultural products, the truth being that under the influence of repressive American tariff rates the trade has been forced away from the United States,

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and the period of our complete emancipation from that country in these two lines is near at hand.

The export of agricultural products and of animals and their products, the produce of Canada, to Great Britain for the year 1896 were as follows :

Export of agricultural products, the produce of Canada, to Great Britain, 1896	$9,551,316
Export of animals and their products, the produce of Canada, to Great Britain, 1896	32,523,071
	$42,074,387

It would of course be advantageous to Canada to obtain access to the American market for barley, beans, vegetables, live stock, and various other items of farm products, but if debarred from such entry the Canadian farmer can simply turn his attention to the production of other articles suitable for the English trade, and perhaps on the whole he will be nearly as well off as he would be with an open American market. At the present time there is good ground for the assertion that the Canadian farmer is in a better position than is the farmer of the United States.

It was anticipated that the reciprocity section of the Dingley bill would contain provisions opening the way for entering upon negotiations with the Executive and the Senate of the United States for a broad and liberal reciprocity treaty. When the reciprocity provision was inserted, after the bill had been reported to the Senate by the Finance Committee, it provided :

"For the transfer during such period (five years) from the dutiable list of this Act to the free list thereof, of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries, *and not of the United States.*"

Representations were at once made to the Conference Committee, to the President, and to the Secretary of the Treasury, that the natural products of Canada and of the United States were the same so far as Canada was concerned, and that under the provision above quoted Canada was barred from even attempting to enter upon negotiations for a reciprocity treaty that would cover a single natural product of the country. The provision was nevertheless retained, and now Canadian statesmen will ruminate upon the question whether the United States government is to be understood as shutting the door in the face of Canada, and telling her to be gone, and to cease from pestering men who have more important matters to attend to, with

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senseless twaddle about better feeling and more liberal commercial relations.

It seems probable, in view of the fact that intimate trade relations between Canada and the United States would obviously be so highly advantageous to both countries, that, acting under the mistaken idea that the American market is absolutely necessary to Canada, repression and high duties have been resorted to for the purpose of convincing the Canadian that if his country desires the great advantages which an immense market close at hand would confer, it must surrender its political autonomy and come into the American Union. If this motive has dictated the policy pursued, the fruits are certain to be diametrically opposite to the result it has been sought thereby to attain. No more potent influence than the Dingley bill can be called into action for the purpose of rendering harmony, good will, and, much more, political union impossible. The Anglo-Saxon does not respond readily to coercive measures. The average Canadian can have no knowledge other than theoretical as to the advantages in a commercial or material sense that political union would confer upon him, for the period of commercial intimacy and broad liberal trade relations between the two countries passed away thirty-one years ago, and he has had no object lesson to impress his mind with the advantages to be derived from continental free trade. As to the political benefits arising from political union, he is sceptical beyond the power of conviction, believing that his own form of government, founded upon the British model, is the best that exists upon this continent. Any idea that the Dominion can be starved into an aspiration for different political conditions is utterly chimerical.

The Liberal leaders of Canada desire most cordial and friendly relations of a social, political, and business character with the United States. They are prepared to meet that country half way in the liberal arrangement of duties and adjustment of commercial relations. They sincerely desire to make use of the influence of Canada for the purpose of promoting better relations between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family. They do not believe that political union is essential to the promotion of the best interests of the Anglo-Saxon race upon the American continent. They do believe that all the commonwealths springing from the English stock, and speaking the English language,

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may with advantage to themselves and to humanity at large act in concert; and that no diversity of interests exists of a character that need in the slightest degree interfere with the consummation of such a relationship between the British Empire and America. We ask American public men to consider carefully the conditions that confront the United States and Canada as concerns their relations with each other; to meet us in a spirit of friendliness, and to remember that their great superiority in wealth, population, and power gives to them such advantage in position and influence that they can afford to treat us with generosity, with the well-grounded assurance that the fruits of such a policy will in the future be abundant and satisfactory.

JOHN CHARLTON.

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ANOTHER VIEW OF THE UNION LABEL.

BY STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

In an article published in a recent number of this Review Miss M. E. J. Kelley sets forth the value and importance of the device of the union label as an instrument for improving the conditions of work among laborers. Like all its advocates, she approves of it as a means for insuring the production of goods under circumstances favorable to the health and comfort and proper wage-remuneration of artisans. She believes that its adoption tends to abolish the miseries of the sweat-shop, tenement-house production, the employment of children, danger of infection from contact with disease, and all other undesirable proximities. Seeing in the union label a working instrument available for such excellent uses, she naturally lauds it and hopes great things from an increase of its use by manufacturers of every kind. Some misgivings, however, as to other purposes to which the label is put seem to flit like thin clouds over the sky of her hopes, and to darken the prospect, though she makes but light account of those in comparison with its array of benefits. She seems not to be aware that the real value of the label in the eyes of its supporters and users lies not so much in alleged benevolences derivable from its general adoption, as in its force as a weapon to bring business and business men under the control of trade unions as representing working men. This is quite in accordance with the general assumption of many, if not of most artisans, of some of the newspapers, and of a large body of the public, that the working classes would be better managers of business, if they could once really get hold of it, than are the men who create, extend, and dominate all larger concerns, as a matter of fact; their sincere belief being that if all who are not capitalists could sequester the property of those who are, they both could

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and would apply it to the general profit and benefit better and more effectually than do the greedy appropriators of opportunities who now misarrange the resources of the world to their own selfish aggrandizement alone. With that end in view, they prize the union label as an effective weapon to bring more business under the control of the working classes. The real virtue of the label in their eyes is that it is a fighting instrument in the hands of trade unions to advance their own power and secure their own ends. It is not, as Miss Kelley avers, a substitute for the strike and the boycott, but it is a device to make the boycott more efficient, wider in its range, and more easily applied. All other advantages which it may possess are secondary to its coerciveness in this direction. A little examination of the methods used by its promoters will show how essentially warlike its intentions and purposes are.

In the first place, the union label would have no force at all if it were used, as its advocates pretend, simply to indicate that the goods to which it is attached have been made under conditions suitable to the well-being of the workmen. Not one consumer in a thousand would ever buy an article for such a reason. The consumer buys because he wants the thing he purchases, and because he is satisfied with its quality and price. He no more thinks of asking how its maker lives than he thinks of asking about the living of the farmer of whom he buys his wheat, or the condition of the men who grew his sugar or tea. Such inquiries reach too far beyond the possible circle of business activities to be prescribed to any great extent. One has too much to do to keep one's own conditions satisfactory to oneself to ask about the concerns of people who make his soap and shoes and hats and starch and nails and bicycles and boats, nor could any society or union, or group of societies or unions, make sure beyond a very narrow circle that all kinds of goods were produced under conditions the best for their producers. If they did do this, the supervision itself would be so expensive as to make a serious addition to the price of the goods. It would put them out of the reach of ordinary buyers, who can only afford what they buy when rates are low. In fact, as matters now stand, it is stoutly asserted by men who have personally examined the facts that union labels have been found on tenement-house made cigars and sweat-shop clothing. And it is plain that until work-

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men are all enrolled and drilled to supervision far beyond what the ordinary American citizen would like or allow, it will not be possible to control the conditions of his production beyond a narrow limit. All vouchers for any such proceeding are, therefore, on their face suspicious, and require extensive and accumulated proof of their truth. The union label, as such, is but a poor and easily eluded guarantee, calculated to deceive only those who wish to be deceived.

But the union label used as a weapon of war to extend and enforce the boycott is quite another matter. Then its efficiency becomes at once aggressive and visible. The trade unions adopt it and agree to boycott all shops selling goods without the label attached. They then appoint committees to go about and examine the goods of various retailers in every city. They inform the retailer that certain makes of his goods are without the label, and that his name will be listed and notices of his dereliction sent to all their unions if he persists in selling them. He is, of course, alarmed at such a prospect, as he well knows its meaning to be that a large body of customers will be warned against buying at his shop. He wishes to keep goods salable to all, and he rushes off, therefore, to buy goods having the label attached. The makers of unlabelled goods are then left in the lurch, and thus are boycotted into asking the unions for permission to use the label. The unions reply that the label will be sold to all shops which employ only union men to do their work. The union then prescribes the rate of wages, the number of hours of work, and as many other details as it sees fit, and at last graciously consents that the firm may use the label. The result is all very well for the union and their members. The retailers have been forced into offering only union-made goods to the public, thereby ensuring that only union men shall be employed to make goods.

But how about the other nine-tenths of workmen who, according to Mr. John Graham Brooks,* are not union men? They are to be shut out from work and thrown out of employment by the union label. Shops that employ them are estopped from selling the goods they produce, because the label is only permitted to union-filled shops. Manufacturers must, therefore,

* Mr. Brooks stated, without contradiction, that in this country only one workman in fourteen was a union man, which also is confirmed by Mr. Samuel Gompers.

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refuse work to all but union men, must employ the union men at whatever cost, must raise the prices of goods on their customers to meet the additional expense, and thereby cut off from buying all poorer classes of customers who can no longer afford the goods at enhanced values. Doubtless, this effective slashing to right and left will ensure, with a vengeance, "favorable conditions to the makers of goods"—the cost being only that nine-tenths of workmen are prevented from getting work at all and are thereby impoverished, while perhaps five-tenths of consumers are prevented from using goods by increased prices.

Talk about the rich being made richer and the poor poorer. You have it here in all its naked clearness, except that this effect is produced not by the dreadful capitalist, but by so-called fellow-workmen. They grind the faces of the poor, on both sides, to a very sharp edge. One-tenth seek to confiscate to themselves, by the assistance of the public, the whole living of the other nine-tenths, on the ground that then they will be able to do their work under favorable conditions. Some such result would not be surprising, seeing that it is an ill wind that blows nobody good.

If the object of this boycott of the workmen were to coerce them into joining the unions, it would be intelligible, though still unfair, as all have an equal right to liberty and a living. The unions, indeed, would thrive and grow rich and powerful, but at the expense of unwilling members. In any case, individual liberty is threatened; the right of men to make free contracts with each other is barred.

That the main intention of the union label is to serve as a weapon to enforce the boycott is made evident by the circulars and letters of one of the strongest trade unions, "The United Hatters of North America." They say:

"In May, 1894, we issued a circular calling attention to eleven *non-union or scab* concerns* at Danbury, Connecticut, and requested organized labor to assist our unions to bring this unfair (*i. e.*, non-union) and wealthy combination to terms. . . . We would most earnestly appeal to you to help us in our fight against these employers of scab or non-union labor, and ask as a special favor that you appoint committees to visit the retail hat dealers in your locality, and inform them that they are not obliged to purchase hats from people who handle goods of foul or non-union shops, or in other words are not entitled to use the union label."

* In trade union language everything is "scab" when it is not altogether union. Every free and independent workman, every shop which employs men indifferently, whether they are union or non-union, is scab. To the trade unionist the most of the world is scab.

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Many firms are boycotted by name in this circular, and no claim is made that they did not pay good wages, nor that their hats were made under improper conditions, nor that they were oppressive to their workmen. The sole and only alleged ground of their proscription is that they employed scab or non-union labor —that is, some of the nine-tenths of laborers who did not belong to the unions.

Again, in like vein, their circular says: "Members of labor organizations should urge retailers in their localities to insert in their orders that all hats, both soft and stiff, must have the union label in them, or they will be returned." Since the union label means only that the hats are made by union men, no hats though made under all proper conditions by non-union men could get the label in any case. It is clear, therefore, that the union, rather than "proper conditions" of manufacture, was the object of supreme attention. Having a like motive, the secretary of the Beer Drivers' Union warns a hat dealer, who buys hats where he chooses, that "so long as you patronize a scab hat firm we cannot stand by you, because we as union must stand by unions." To the same purport we read the letter of a Denver firm, saying that they are able "to guarantee every hat sold, and that they are of union make," and claiming patronage on that account. Other letters sent out guarantee that a certain hat company "is now a union concern, employing union men, and *consequently* entitled to use the union label of the United Hatters of North America." Envelopes of this organization also carry the exhortation: "Ask for hat with union label. Do not wear the product of non-union labor."

Further testimony as to the boycotting intention of the union label is found in the by-laws of the United Hatters of North America, printed in January, 1896, which say:

"Local associations must affiliate with central labor unions, trade assemblies, or other central labor organizations.

"(Sec. 2.) One-half of the per capita tax or monthly dues levied by said central bodies shall be paid by the National Association."

Still another witness is an official contribution of money by the United Hatters of North America to the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn to assist the Central Labor Union of New York in boycotting a certain firm which employed scabs.

We have also the printed address of the president of the

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United Hatters, and remarks in print of their secretary, who complained of the action of a Danbury society that "it placed the national body in a peculiar position, for they would have to boycott firms who would run union factories if the union would let them." In other words, the label supporters would do all in their power to drive out of business those who had not previously adopted the label, whether willing at present to do so or not.

The same is true of other unions. Some are not so powerful yet as the hatters, but their aims are the same. The Garment Makers Union, the Typographical Union, the Bakers, Shoemakers, Ironmakers, and many others are pushing the compulsory use of the union label by the same methods for the same purpose. They each and all aim to control manufacturers through retailers to the end that none but union-made goods shall be sold. They intend thereby to prevent any men from getting work in their trades excepting union men, and meanwhile they make no provisions for such an enlargement of the unions as should include all good artisans in any trade. In fact, they scarcely contemplate any increase beyond such as would simply replace the losses of unions by death, not in any way endeavoring to keep up with the natural expansion of the community. That their action is perpetually crowding to the wall a large majority of workmen, the most helpless of their class, they do not heed, so long as their own class does the crowding. If it were the action of capitalists they would decry it as a great crime, but, being their own, they commend it to the public with enthusiasm. So much difference does it make whose bull has gored the ox!

For ourselves, we believe their methods to be injurious to themselves, to their fellow-workmen, and to the public. We believe them to be prolonging the poverty from which we all alike wish to escape. We believe them to be of the nature of a civil war between two portions of the great industrial army, and, like all wars, only destructive of humanity's interests.

Such objects and practises, of course, tend to so serious a restriction of trade that jobbers and retailers would welcome any release from the tyranny that embargoes their right to buy and sell whatever customers may wish to purchase. Consumers also are now limited in their choice of goods, since many excellent goods are not offered because they lack the union label. Free and independent shops, where formerly non-union men could

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get a living, are now forced to become union shops and to employ union men only, whereby many excellent workmen are deprived of a livelihood in spite of the laws and of the rights belonging to men inalienably. Skilled, competent, and faithful employees must be discharged at the mere word of these self-made censors who are striving to improve the condition of the workmen (we have their word for it), in all they do.

And to show how the label works, we have only to note that it raises the price of goods so much in the production of certain goods that it can only be used on the better qualities whose buyers are able to pay more, and not at all on the lower qualities where a rise of price would cut off consumption.

The finest and best goods are made to a considerable extent without the union label in free and independent shops, while the lowest-priced goods are rarely, if ever, made in union shops. By the best use of improved machinery and methods of economy in manufacture, the shops which employ both union and non-union men are able to cheapen the cost of production while maintaining a good earning capacity for a reasonable amount of labor on the part of their employees, and the surrounding conditions of their non-union shops are withal as good as the best.

In view of these facts it is idle for Miss Kelley to assert that "the union label is constructive and not destructive." It can only construct by destroying. Idle also is her remark that "it builds up the fair (*i. e.*, union) employers' trade, instead of tearing down the unfair (*i. e.*, non-union) employers' business as did the boycott," since the label works only by boycott. Idle also her allegation that "it will improve the condition of the non-unionist or scab, as trade unions have improved them otherwise." That is, by keeping them out of work, driving them from their homes, breaking up shops that employ them, and the like. Who was it that made the phrase—"Improve them off the face of the earth"?

What subterfuge also is it that leads Miss Kelley to say that "the trade union never urges its label upon an employer, nor does any employer apply to a union for the use of the label till he is confronted with a demand from a sufficient number of customers to make it worth his while to have it placed in the goods that he has for sale." *Sancta simplicitas!* His "customers" are the retailers whose shops have been visited by committees of

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unionists and whose goods have been examined by men who tell them that "it isn't necessary to buy goods without the label," with all that phrase implies. "Demand from customers," indeed! It is the same euphony as when one is said to have resigned an office from which he really was dismissed. Miss Kelley also avers that "before the union label can be of consequence, there must be a purchasing public interested in creating a demand for it." If the label had waited for that, it would have waited till the millennium. But it did not, and does not wait. It demands to be used on penalty of war against those who will not use it.

Miss Kelley herself seems to have some inkling of its real force when she says: "Its universal adoption would of course bring its special advantages to an end"—as if the universal adoption of fitting improvements in the condition of producers (the label's alleged intention) would bring such special advantages to an end. What it would do would be merely to bring its power as an instrument of the boycott to an end.

These things make it clear that the unions are the object of all this care and organization, that the real intention is to destroy the scabs or non-union men who are at least nine-tenths of all the workmen, that no means will be refused that assist in that one deadly purpose, and that every producer who does not yield to the demands of the unions will be ruined if the unions can ruin him, quite irrespective of his justice, honor, good treatment of men, scale of wages, conditions of shop, and all the other verbal demands of the union label organization. What the public, then, is called upon to do is to support the unions against the scabs, that is, the free, independent workmen; to back the authors of strikes, boycotts, representing less than one-tenth of all workmen, against the other nine-tenths of those who are willing to work as honestly and as faithfully as the best for wages which employers are able and willing to pay. The public is invited and urged to make itself a partner in all the boycotts the unions may declare against employers, and to take sides against the majority of workmen for the sake of the minority.

And this is by no means all. The unions are reaching out by compulsion, in the use of the union label, through all business to bring it to their terms. Already there are twenty *national* unions engaged in enforcing its use. In September last

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the United Hatters voted to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, comprising 600,000 members, which gives them immense additional power. With a disciplined army of advocates so numerous and very active, it is easy to see that they wield a power capable of bringing extreme pressure to bear upon retailers, and through them upon manufacturers in almost every domain of business. They form, in fact, a vast dominating trade union trust, which by its pressure can dictate to every great manufacturing body what men they shall employ as laborers, to the retailers what goods they shall sell in their shops, and to all workmen what work they shall be permitted to do or not to do, according to their will. It will be seen at once that such comprehensive powers throw into the shade all that is arrogated by any other trust, whether it be the Standard Oil, Tobacco, Sugar, or whatever trust is most spoken against by the enemies of such aggregations. None of these aspires to manage any business but its own at any rate, and not one reaches to the power of life and death which lies in the hands of those who control the employment of laborers and dictate as to who shall and who shall not have a chance to earn his bread. And when one knows beforehand that this last power will be exercised after the accustomed violent fashion of unions towards all but its own members, by cutting off free or independent workmen on every side, watching their movements, picketing shops where scabs are permitted to work, persuading, terrorizing, spying, and, in fact, performing all the acts of war upon outsiders, one may well hesitate to throw his influence in favor of furthering the aims of an organization so harsh and exclusive towards men of its own kind.

It should be remarked, too, that the violent outcry of working men against the trusts of capitalists must have little weight with those who see in the union label nothing less than an attempt to organize the same sort of combination in their own interest. Their attempt appears to be to stifle the competition of laborers with themselves, as capitalists extinguish it in their own ranks. They are trying to limit production to what union men can produce, setting aside a larger body of the laboring class. They are trying to prevent all production below a certain rate of wages which they wish to prescribe, not heeding the needs of workmen who cannot be employed at such rates because

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they are not worth them. They wish to prevent a fall in the price of goods, forgetful of the fact that such declines bring goods within the reach of multitudes who otherwise could not purchase at all. They are ready to coerce all vendors who shall sell other goods than those of their approval. They would limit production as the coal barons are said to do; would limit selling as the Tobacco Trust is accused of doing; would monopolize the labor supply as Italian padrones are blamed for doing; would starve some kinds of workmen as cloakmakers were accused of doing; would close non-consenting factories, which the Standard Oil Trust was reprobated for doing; would cut off the public from various brands of desirable goods, which no trust ever even attempted; would finally control many enterprises for which they furnish neither the plant, the capital, nor the brains, and in which they neither take the risks nor devise the policy.

Surely it is asking of the public more than any trust ever demanded, that it should lend its support to help the union label to a power so general and irresponsible and so clearly opposed to the welfare of a large body of citizens whose interests are vital to the public good. No other trust ever asked of the public support for itself alone on the grounds of its public benevolence.

If the trade unions had proved to be half as wise as they are active and aggressive, if they had been as kind to their fellow-workmen as they have been cruel, if they had looked to the general welfare as carefully as they have to what they fancy to be their own, if they had endeavored to be as useful as they were powerful, one might indeed regard every advance made by them with pleasure and advocate its further development. But, with their past unruly history, it is indeed a grave matter to give force to so drastic a supervision as the union label puts into their hands exclusively. Its general adoption would go far to make them masters of the business community. Its support by citizens at large would be little else than a surrender of the whole working class to their imperious orders. Its prevalence would bring under their rule the ever servile body of politicians looking for votes, until at last the government itself would scarce be able to do otherwise than pass trade union laws and register trade union decrees. That this result would be good either for the community at large or for the unions themselves we who

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have observed their history may be permitted to doubt. Working men are not equal to everything any more than philosophers. We are not ourselves opposed to trade unions in themselves, operating in their own proper sphere of mutually assisting and co-operative societies. Therein they have done and are doing much good. They inspire, encourage, and stimulate their members. They develop their reasoning powers and mutually educate each other. They lend the force and courage of co-operation to those who singly are weak and unprotected. They substitute bodies of organized and disciplined citizens, always an improved and better class, for fragmentary and scattered mobs of individuals. They have caused many excellent laws to be passed for the protection of the working man. They have developed many good leaders whose work has been an addition to the welfare of the state. We do not wish to suppress them, nor to dispense with their counsel and co-operation. We believe most heartily that everybody knows far more than anybody, and that all classes together are far wiser than any one class, even if it be called the best. We therefore view with pleasure the efforts of the union to further the progress and expand the horizon of the community.

But with all this, we do not view with pleasure the efforts of unions to set up within the state another organization of compulsion. We do not believe in organizing one body of citizens against others, to compel them by fear of loss and starvation to obey the will of self-made despots. We reprobate their efforts to enlist the assistance of all their friends in an attempt to give them power to dragoon the business world into obedience to their behests. Were they wiser than Solomon, this still would be dangerous. But, as they are only half instructed in business concerns, such authority could only result in unspeakable disaster from which they would be the first and greatest sufferers.

If the union label simply set itself to carry out its claim of guaranteeing that the goods to which it is attached were made under satisfactory sanitary and other conditions, it would be easy for any manufacturer to get the right to use it who should show conformity to proper requirements, and this could be readily ascertained by the advocates of the label, though it would still enhance the cost of goods, and according to their claim they make it their business to do just this, if nothing else. But that would put all good manufacturers on a level and tend speedily to ele-

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vate all work done, so that it would benefit the union little, if at all. Therefore, the label body devotes itself to quite another object, as we have shown, namely, simply to find out whether union men do the work, or non-union men. If they were to permit goods made under howsoever excellent conditions, but at less cost than union goods, to be sold at the same counters at cheaper rates, the careless public would always buy the cheaper, and so fail to support the unions. High prices have never been a public craving, and never will be. To support producers in fine style has never been the professed purpose of buyers. To make laborers happy may be the object of benevolence, but business has other and severer aims, and must so long as life itself is a struggle for existence. How well the union label people manage their side of the competitive struggle is shown from the fact that they give a boom to the first baker who uses their label, that their wives insist on the label in garments they buy, that unions have induced Montana to require the label on all public printing, that the Utica Common Council required labels on all iron-moulding done for public works, that a cigar maker in New York was stopped from selling his goods because his prices were too low to suit the unionists, that a manufacturing house up the Hudson was crowded out of business because it would not make terms with the union. In all this one observes that scant regard is paid by the unions to any interest except their own. They have no right to claim as a general benefit what is after all only a special one, and that one their own.

Now if the unions, instead of devising a union label to increase the effect of the boycott by forcing retailers to buy union-made goods at higher prices on penalty of ruin if they sold other goods, would devise a label which should mean superior goods for less money, which would ensure the customer that he was getting his money's worth in quality and finish, they would not need to go to the expense of sending committees round to examine every retailer's stock for their label. The community would be eager enough to buy such articles and the unions would thrive upon the skill and honesty of their members, rather than on their brutality and arrogance toward their fellows.

A union label which should mean that the interest and well-being of laborers in general had been studied and secured, would have in its favor not only the one-tenth of union men, but the

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nine-tenths of non-union men—but for that we may wait many years, since in it there would be no profit for any special class, no money for its promoters, no power for its advocates, but only general benevolence and fair play for all.

Now of what we have been saying this is the sum:

First. The union label is mainly a distinctive device for enforcing boycotts and making them more effective.

Second. Its object is to increase the power of trade unions and to force all to submit to union authority.

Third. Its asserted purpose—to insure good conditions among working men—is mere pretence, since the label is not allowed to all manufacturers who can prove their conditions to be satisfactory, but only to those who employ none but union workmen.

Fourth. The circulars of its advocates harp on the employment of union men only and say little about their vaunted "good conditions."

Fifth. The claim of the label to the support of good citizens is, therefore, unwarranted, unless good citizens ought always to support trade unions and repudiate free and independent workmen.

Sixth. The general success of the label would result in raising the prices of goods, reducing the employment of free workmen, curtailing the liberty of contract between employers and employed, injuring many skilled and useful non-union laborers, and give to the unions a new and wide power in the community equivalent to a real tyranny, a most un-American and dangerous enlargement.

Seventh. It would seem, therefore, to be better that the community should oppose the use of the label and refuse to buy the goods on which it appears, preferring to favor the nine-tenths of laborers who are not union men to the one-tenth who are, because the one-tenth are seeking by the label to abridge the rights of the others in the common pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness.

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THE COMING SEA-POWER.

BY CHARLES H. CRAMP.

Most well-informed people have a pretty clear general idea that the present is an era of unexampled naval activity throughout the civilized world; that great fleets are building everywhere; that the ships composing them are of new types, representing the highest development of naval architecture and the most exquisite refinement of the art of naval armament. Doubtless, a much smaller number of persons are aware that a new factor of imposing proportions has come into the general situation; that the newest member of the family of civilization is with rapid strides reaching a status of actual and potential sea-power with which the older nations must henceforth reckon most seriously.

It is, however, questionable whether any one not intimately conversant with the current history of modern ship-building, or not qualified to estimate properly the relative values of actual armaments, can adequately conceive the vast significance of the prodigious efforts which this youngest of civilized nations is successfully putting forth toward the quick and sure attainment of commanding power on the sea.

In order to estimate accurately the significance of the current naval activity of Japan, it is requisite to trace briefly her prior development as a maritime power.

The foundation of the Japanese navy was laid by the purchase of the Confederate ram "Stonewall," built in France in 1864, surrendered to the United States in 1865, and shortly afterward sold or given to Japan. This ship was soon followed by another of somewhat similar type, built at the Thames Iron Works in 1864–1865, now borne on the Japanese navy list as the "Riojo," and used as a gunnery and training ship.

From that time to the period of the Chinese war the naval

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growth of Japan was steady, and, considering her very recent adoption of Western methods, rapid.

At the beginning of that war Japan, though possessing a very respectable force of cruisers and gunboats, mostly of modern types and advanced design, had no armored ships worthy of the name. The old "Stonewall" had been broken up, the "Fu-So," the "Riojo," the "Heiyei," and the "Kon-Go," built from 1865 to 1877, were obsolete, and the "Chiyoda"—the only one of modern design and armament—was a small armored cruiser of 2,450 tons, with a 4½-inch belt, and no guns larger than 4.7-inch calibre.

The unarmored fleet, however, on which she had to rely, was, for its total displacement, equal to any in the world. It embraced three of the "Hoshidate" class, 4,277 tons and 5,400 horse-power; two of the "Naniwa" class, 3,650 tons and 7,000 horse-power, which had been considered by our Navy Department worth copying in the "Charleston," the "Yoshino," 4,150 tons and 15,000 horse-power, and about fifteen serviceable gun-vessels from 615 to 1,700 tons. All of the cruisers had been built in Europe, but most of the gun-vessels were of Japanese build, and represented the first efforts of the Japanese people in modern naval construction.

Among the results of the war was the addition of several Chinese vessels to the Japanese navy, including the battleship "Chen Yuen," of 7,400 tons and 6,200 horse-power, and the "Ping Yuen," armored coast defence ship, which had been captured by the unarmored cruisers of the Mikado.

At the end of the war Japan had forty-three sea-going vessels, displacing in the aggregate 79,000 tons, of which seven serviceable ships, with total displacement of 15,000 tons, were prizes.

The navy in commission at this writing embraces forty-eight sea-going ships, of 111,000 tons displacement, and twenty-six torpedo boats. The five sea-going vessels, of 32,000 tons total displacement, which have been added since the war, represent the most advanced types of model naval architecture, and include two first-class battleships of 12,800 tons each, the "Fuji" and "Yashima."

The ship-building programme now in process of actual construction is calculated to produce by the year 1903 a total effec-

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tive force of 67 sea-going ships, 12 torpedo-catchers and 75 torpedo boats, with an aggregate displacement of more than 200,000 tons.

To the navy in commission or available for instant service, already described, Japan now adds, in plain sight under actual construction in various stages of forwardness, a new fleet vastly superior in power and efficiency to it.

Here I desire to say that the word "progress," in its conventional sense, does not adequately indicate the naval activity of Japan. The word implies continuity, by more or less even pace, in one of two directions, or in both; one direction is an increase in tonnage, with but little or no improvement in efficiency; and the other is a marked advance of new ships in all the elements of offence, defence, staying power and economy.

The first condition of progress is represented by the present activity of most nations who are sailing along evenly and with self-approval in fancied superiority. The second condition is represented by Japan, who suddenly appears as a cyclone in a smooth sea of common-place progress.

Japan is not only building more ships than any other power except England, but she is building better ships in English shipyards than England herself is constructing for her own navy. While other nations proceed by steps, Japan proceeds by leaps and bounds. What other nations are doing may be described as progress, but what Japan is doing must be termed a phenomenon. She is now building:

(1.) Three 14,800-ton battleships, which are well advanced at Armstrong's, Thompson's, and the Thames Iron Works, respectively.

(2.) One battleship of about 10,000 tons, commencing at Armstrong s.

(3.) Four first-class armored cruisers of 9,600 tons displacement and twenty knots speed; two at Armstrong's, one at the Vulcan Works, Stettin, Germany, and one at Forges et Chantiers, France.

(4.) Two 5,000-ton protected cruisers of about twenty-three knots speed; one at San Francisco and one at Philadelphia.

(5.) One protected cruiser of 4,300 tons and about twenty-three knots speed at Armstrong's.

(6.) Four thirty-knot torpedo-boat destroyers at Yarrow's.

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(7.) Four more of similar type at Thompson's.

(8.) Eight 90-ton torpedo boats at the Schichau Works, Elbing, Germany.

(9.) Four more of similar type at the Normand Works, France.

(10.) Three 3,000-ton protected cruisers of 20 knots, three torpedo gunboats and a dispatch vessel, at the Imperial Dockyard, Yokosuka, Japan.

(11.) The programme for the current year embraces a fifth armored cruiser of the type previously described (9,600 tons and 20 knots) to be built also at Yokosuka.

This is Japan's naval increase actually in sight. Excepting the ships building at Yokosuka, the whole programme has come under my personal observation.

Comparison with the current progress of other powers discloses the fact that Japan is second only to England in naval activity, being ahead of France, much in advance of Germany, and vastly in the lead of Russia and the United States. It must also be borne in mind that the new Japanese fleet comprises throughout the very latest and highest types of naval architecture in every respect of force, economy and efficiency.

The spectacle of Japan surpassing France and closely following England herself in naval activity is startling. Considering the shortness of the time which has elapsed since Japan entered the family of nations or aspired to any rank whatever as a power, it is little short of miraculous. Yet it is a fact, and to my mind it is the most significant single fact of our time. Nations do not display such energy or undertake such expenditure without a purpose.

It can hardly be maintained that Japan aims her vast preparations at the United States; at least not primarily. The pending Hawaiian affair has given rise to some irritation, but its importance has been systematically exaggerated by the English press. It cannot, in any event, go beyond the stage of diplomatic exchanges. Japan will, doubtless, receive from the United States sufficient assurance that the rights of her subjects in Hawaii will be protected in case of annexation, and thus far she has asked no more than that. She is certainly entitled to no less.

The object of the English in encouraging Japan to make a

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bold front against the United States was and is, like all their objects, purely commercial. They hoped to stir up in the Japanese mind an ill-feeling that would prevent the award of any more contracts to American ship-yards, and even this characteristic stratagem is not likely to have more than a temporary effect.

Thus I think it may be assumed that Japan's immense naval preparation is not made with the United States in hostile view; certainly not mainly.

Assuming these conditions to be beyond dispute, and considering that the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway will at once make Russia a great Pacific power, politically and commercially, her naval situation in those seas must become a matter of prime importance; perhaps not of equal importance with that of the United States now, but at once sufficient to challenge the best efforts of her statesmen.

Having all these facts in view, and being in a position to judge with some accuracy of the significance and value of preparations which came under my own observation during a recent tour of Europe in my professional capacity, I could not help remarking the vast difference between the naval activity of Japan and that of the other two first-rate Pacific powers, Russia and the United States. The existing situation in Russia and the United States, relatively speaking, can hardly be called more than the merest perfunctory progress, whereas the activity of Japan is really marvelous. If she were simply meditating another attack on China alone or unsupported, no such fleet as Japan is now building would be needed; certainly not the enormous battleships and the great armored cruisers. It must therefore be assumed that Japan's purpose is the general one of predominant sea power in the Orient.

Japan may, and probably does, meditate a renewal of her efforts to establish a footing on the Asiatic mainland. Possibly, she may have in view the ultimate acquisition of the Philippine Islands. But, whatever may be her territorial ambitions for the future, it is as plain as an open book that she intends, before she moves again, to place herself in a position to disregard and defy any external interference. This may be the true meaning of Japan's extreme activity in naval preparation at this time.

I may say without violation of confidence that a Japanese gentleman of distinction not long ago remarked in conversation

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on this subject that "while Japan was forced by circumstances to yield much at Shimonoseki that she had fairly conquered, she still secured indemnity enough to build a navy that would enable her to do better next time!"

In view of all these facts the question at once arises: Are Russia and the United States prepared or are they preparing to meet such conditions, and to maintain their proper naval status as Pacific powers? My answer to that question, based on observations of Japan's naval strength already in sight and on what I know of her intended programmes for further increase in the immediate future, as compared with the relative conditions of Russia and this country would be in the negative.

Just now Russia is trying the experiment of reliance on her own Imperial dockyards, while the United States has halted completely. The Russian dockyards are efficient, as far as they go, and turn out good work, judging from such specimens as I have seen. But their capacity is not adequate to the task that is presented by the situation which I have delineated. No other nation relies wholly on its own public dockyards for new naval constructions. England, with public dockyards almost equal in capacity to those of the rest of the world combined, builds over 65 per cent. of her displacement and 97 per cent. of her horse-power by contract with private shipyards and machine-shops. France, with very great dockyard facilities, builds a large proportion of her hulls and machinery by contract. The same is true of Germany, Italy, and the United States. But Russia has no great private shipbuilding facilities, and there are no visible signs of the immediate development of resources of that description.

Japan, on the contrary, though she has some facilities of her own, is drawing upon the very best resources elsewhere to be found; she is drawing on the shipbuilding power at once of England, France, Germany, and the United States. Not only that, but more than that; the vessels Japan is building in the shipyards of England, France, and Germany are superior to any vessels those nations are building for themselves, class for class.

Hence, viewing the situation from any point at will, the conclusion of any one qualified to judge must be that, in the race for naval supremacy in the Pacific, Japan is gaining, while Russia and the United States are losing ground.

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It requires little prescience to discern that the issue which is to settle that question of supremacy as between the powers may not be long deferred.

Though Japan's naval activity is primarily significant of a purpose to secure general predominance in Oriental seas, and though, as I have suggested, there is no immediate reason for, or prospect of, trouble between Japan and the United States involving naval armaments, yet, in the broad general sense of dignity on the sea, our country can by no means safely ignore or be inattentive to the progress of our Oriental neighbor toward the rank of a first-class sea power in the Pacific Ocean. The completion of her fleet now building will, inside of three years, give Japan that rank, and the future programme already laid out will accentuate it. The superior quality of Japan's new navy is even more significant than its enormous quantity. She has no useless ships, none obsolete; all are up to date.

Meantime, the attitude of the United States seems quite as supine as that of Russia. It is not necessary to go into minute detail on this point. Suffice it to say that, taking Russia, Japan, and the United States as the three maritime powers most directly concerned in the Pacific Ocean, and whose interests are most immediately affected by its command, Japan at her present rate of naval progress, viewed with relation to the lack of progress of the other two, must in three years be able to dominate the Pacific against either, and, in less than ten years, against both.

I have heard the question raised as to the character and quality of the Japanese *personnel;* I have heard the suggestion that, magnificent as their material may be, their officers and men are not up to the European or American standard. It is not my intention to discuss this phase of the matter. But it is worth while to observe that, if the Japanese officers with whom we are in daily contact as inspectors of work we are doing for their government are average samples, they have no odds to ask of the officers of any other navy whatsoever as to professional ability, practical application and capacity to profit by experience. And it should also be borne in mind that they have had more and later experience in actual warfare than the officers of any other navy, or of all other navies. While all other navies have been wrestling with the theoretical problems of war colleges, or encountering the hypothetical conditions of squadron evolutions,

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fleet manœuvres and sham battles, the Japanese have been sinking or taking the ships, bombarding the towns and forcing the harbors of their enemy. I do not know how others may view this sort of disparity in experience, but in my opinion it is the most portentous fact in the whole situation, and because of it no navy that has not done any fighting at all has the slightest license to question in any respect the quality of the *personnel* of the Japanese navy that has done a good deal of extremely successful fighting.

On the whole the attitude of Japan among the powers is in the last degree admirable. Her aspirations are exaltedly patriotic, and her movements to realize them are planned with a consummate wisdom, and executed with a systematic skill which nations far older in the arts of Western civilization would do well to emulate.

CHARLES H. CRAMP.

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THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE September number of this REVIEW devoted some fourteen pages to an article by Mr. James Gustavus Whiteley on the diplomacy of the United States in regard to Central American canals. The article is, substantially, a plea for our adherence to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and, as such, it must be acknowledged to be, perhaps, the most effective argument on that side of the discussion which has yet been published. It is worth while, therefore, to examine the points made by the writer, and inquire what weight they ought to have with the present administration. It has been, undoubtedly, the disposition of the Republican party during the last thirty years to regard the treaty either as having been extinguished by lapse of time or as deserving of abolition by a declaration on our part that we will be bound by it no longer. In other words, the treaty has been pronounced either void or voidable, and, in the latter case, it has been urged that the proper proceeding to annul it ought to be promptly taken. A different view of our duty or interest in the premises was indicated by our State Department during the two administrations of Mr. Cleveland. Will Mr. McKinley adopt the opinions of his Republican forerunners or those of his Democratic predecessor touching the vital question whether a canal cleaving the Nicaragua Isthmus shall be controlled exclusively by the United States, or whether, in pursuance of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it shall remain forever under the joint control of this country and Great Britain?

I.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty contained no denunciation clause, but, on the contrary, declared itself to be of perpetual obligation. For this reason the British Foreign Office has proceeded on the

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assumption that the treaty is still binding, notwithstanding the repudiation of it by Secretary Frelinghuysen in his well-known dispatch of May 8, 1882, to Mr. Lowell, then American Minister at the Court of St. James's. In order that the present position of the question may be clearly understood, it is necessary to set forth distinctly the purport of that dispatch, which, it seems to us, is given but imperfectly by Mr. Whiteley in his article. It will be remembered that Lord Granville, throughout the correspondence on the subject, which had taken place in 1881-82, proceeded on the assumption that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is permanently binding on this country, and that the rights of Great Britain in relation to the whole North American isthmus are defined in that instrument. It was, of course, the eighth article on which he relied, all the rest of the treaty being admitted on both sides to refer exclusively to a particular canal contemplated in 1850, not long before which date certain privileges had been granted by the Nicaragua government to an American company which hoped to secure the whole or a part of its capital in London. The eighth article provided that "the governments of the United States and Great Britain, having not only desired in entering into this convention to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communication, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the interoceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama." It was, undoubtedly, a mistake to hold, as Mr. Frelinghuysen originally did, that the treaty, even if acknowledged to be still obligatory upon the parties with regard to certain matters, does not, when rightly interpreted, compel the United States to recognize in Great Britain a joint right of protectorate over the waterway projected and partly constructed by M. de Lesseps at Panama, or, we may add, over the Nicaragua Canal, now projected by an American company. According to Mr. Frelinghuysen, the eighth article of the treaty on which the British claim of joint control is founded, contemplates only those "interoceanic communications, whether by canal or railway, which are *now* (1850) proposed to be established by the way

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of Tehuantepec or Panama." The Lesseps canal had not been thought of in 1850; much less had the present Nicaragua Canal company; these could not, therefore, it was claimed, have figured among the modes of communication which the treaty had in view. This point was not well taken. As a matter of fact, the explicit reference in Article 8 to communications already projected in 1850 is a supplementary, but by no means exhaustive, explanation of the preceding sentence, wherein the parties, desiring "to establish a general principle, agreed to extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communication, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America." Unquestionably, if the treaty remains binding at all, the general principle thus distinctly enunciated must be held to cover the Lesseps canal, the Nicaragua Canal now projected, or any future waterway. Equally difficult of maintenance seems another position originally assumed by Mr. Frelinghuysen, that the British government, never having set up any pretensions to a joint guarantee of the Panama Railway, which was an enterprise of later date than the treaty, had thereby admitted that such subsequent undertakings were without the purview of the Clayton-Bulwer convention. Surely it cannot be seriously urged that, because Great Britain neglected to enforce a treaty privilege in the case of the Panama Railway, in the operation whereof she was but slightly interested, she must be held to have waived all rights in relation to water communication, which would be to her a matter of vital concern. No! Unless the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty can be shown to have lapsed, or to be voidable at the option of the United States, Article 8 will probably be found a formidable obstacle to our denial of the British claim to exercise a joint protectorate over any waterway cut through the American isthmus, and, consequently, over the Nicaragua Canal now projected by an American company.

II.

It was in his dispatch of May 8, 1882, that Mr. Frelinghuysen, quitting the unsatisfactory positions just outlined, proceeded to aver, first, that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had lapsed, having been framed for a specific object, which had long ceased to be capable of accomplishment; and, secondly, that it was voidable at the option of the United States, having been long violated by

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the other party to the contract. It is with respect to the second contention that the argument seems to us to rest on solid ground. The first assertion, namely, that the treaty had lapsed, could not be maintained, had Great Britain, upon her own part, observed the obligations imposed upon her by the treaty. For, while it is true that one aim of that convention was to facilitate the construction of a particular canal across the Isthmus of Nicaragua under a concession granted to an American company, it is equally certain that another purpose was to obtain from Great Britain a relinquishment of the projects of annexation implied in an assumption of a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast, as well as in the occupation of Greytown and divers other points on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. So far as the text of the treaty actually ratified is concerned, the British government agreed not to claim or exercise sovereignty over any part of Central America. Here was offered a valuable consideration, and, had it been forthcoming, the eighth article of the treaty, which is general in its scope and concedes to Great Britain rights in connection with the whole American Isthmus, from Panama to Tehuantepec inclusively, would still be unquestionably valid, notwithstanding the first seven articles, relating to a particular canal scheme, have become inoperative through the lapse or supersession of the privileges granted before 1850 to an American company. We cannot say, therefore, that the agreement set forth in the eighth article has lapsed, for the interest it was intended to subserve is a continuous interest. The article in question distinctly recites, we repeat, that the two governments, "having not only desired to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, hereby agree to extend their (joint) protection by treaty stipulation to any other practicable communication." We consider it plain that so long as the consideration offered by Great Britain was forthcoming, the compact embodying this broad principle could not be said to have become inoperative through the mere passage of time or by the failure of the specific project contemplated in the first seven articles of the convention.

Although, however, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had not lapsed in the legal sense of the word, when Mr. Frelinghuysen suggested that it should be so regarded, we have no doubt that he was right in saying that it had long been rendered voidable at

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the option of the injured party by the act of Great Britain. The promise to forego the exercise of sovereignty in Central America, which was the consideration moving us to assent to the eighth article, if not to the rest of the treaty also, has never been carried out by the United Kingdom; on the contrary, it has been, and now is, flagrantly violated. Scarcely had the treaty been ratified when Sir Henry Bulwer filed a declaration in our State department that, according to the understanding of Her Majesty's government, the treaty did not apply to the British "settlement" in Honduras. Mr. Clayton answered that he so understood the treaty, though he must not be supposed, he added, to affirm the British title to that settlement. Now, these declarations have never been ratified by the treaty-making authorities, and, so far as they imply anything counter to the text of the treaty, they are utterly destitute of power to bind us. That Mr. Clayton did not protest against Sir Henry Bulwer's assumption was owing to the fact that the "settlement," of which the latter spoke, was a very different thing from the present "crown colony" of British Honduras. The British settlers in those parts were, originally, mere tenants of the Spanish Crown, under limited grants which reserved sovereignty; and after the revolution in Central America, the rights appertaining to dominion must be deemed to have passed from Spain to a Spanish-American republic. We repeat that if Mr. Clayton acquiesced in Sir H. Bulwer's assumption, it was because the so-called settlement of British subjects in the Belize was not then, nor was for years afterwards, supposed to involve any claim of sovereignty, being based on rights to cut wood and establish saw mills within a carelessly defined territory. It was taken for granted in 1850, and for years afterward, that all the powers of civil and military government within that area belonged to the South American republic which had succeeded to the political rights of Spain. We need not recapitulate the steps by which this tolerated settlement of woodcutters was gradually transformed into a crown colony, over which the exercise of British sovereignty became open and absolute. British Honduras now embraces nearly 14,000 square miles, or double the area of the State of Massachusetts, and, moreover, is continually growing at the expense of Guatemala, the boundary on that side being undefined. In other words, it constitutes precisely the entering

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wedge, which might carry the British colonist with his projects of annexation into the heart of Central America, and which it was one object of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to remove.

It was not until 1862 that the decisive step was taken whereby the "settlement" of British woodcutters in the Belize was erected into a crown colony. The step was taken, it will be observed, at a time when our government, overwhelmed by the anxieties and burdens of a tremendous civil war, could not be expected to heed, or, if heeding, to protest against, an infringement of treaty obligations in a matter which, however important in itself, must then have seemed insignificant compared with the threatened existence of the nation. Then it was, however—in 1862—that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was unequivocally broken by one of the parties, and it follows that from that moment the whole compact was voidable at the option of the United States. That right of option was exercised by Secretary Frelinghuysen when he declared the treaty henceforth void and of no effect.

Mr. Frelinghuysen's declaration would have disposed of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty but for the fact, which Mr. Whiteley does not fail to note, that Mr. Cleveland, on two occasions, namely, in 1888 and in 1894, recognized the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as still binding on both parties, by invoking that convention for the purpose of averting any interference on the part of Great Britain in behalf of the Mosquito Indians. It is that retreat from Mr. Frelinghuysen's position which renders it indispensable that the present Administration shall announce clearly and speedily its attitude with reference to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Does it agree with President Arthur's Secretary of State that the convention was rendered voidable at our option in 1862 by Great Britain's assumption of sovereignty in British Honduras, and that the right of denunciation thus acquired was duly and definitely exercised by Mr. Frelinghuysen in May, 1882? If such, indeed, be its view of the matter, the contrary opinion implied in the correspondence of our State Department during the two Cleveland administrations cannot be too quickly disavowed.

III.

We have said that we consider Mr. Frelinghuysen's averment that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was rendered voidable at our option by the action of the British government in the matter of

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British Honduras not only "ingenious," as Mr. Whiteley would describe it, but as incontrovertible. Let us assume, however, that, technically, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is, in international law, what its terms declare it to be, perpetually binding on the United States. Does it follow that, in the interest of the national expansion, which will acquire enormous momentum in the twentieth century, we ought not to burst the bond? Is it morally justifiable for one generation to stifle and handcuff another, which, in respect of political and economical conditions, may be separated from it by an immeasurable gulf? To such an exercise of anticipatory repression it must be possible to plead, in the forum of international equity, a statute of limitations. The swaddling-clothes of an infant commonwealth should not be suffered to strangle a nation in its manhood. Such was the conviction of our fathers. Never was there a treaty more obligatory from the moral viewpoint than that concluded between the Continental Congress and the French government, because the consideration offered was the assistance indispensable to the achievement of our independence. Nevertheless, not twenty years had passed after the signing of that convention when our fathers repudiated its obligations because they believed them irreconcilable with the true interest of the nation. On its face and in its essence, the Jay Treaty with Great Britain was incompatible with the treaty made many years before with France. Again, it may be said with truth that treaties, sacred as they are, are no more binding upon us than is the Federal Constitution. Now, not only the whole Federalist party, but a large proportion of Jefferson's friends, and, what is more to the point, President Jefferson himself, considered the purchase of the Louisiana Territory of very doubtful constitutionality. Nevertheless, President Jefferson made up his mind to purchase the Territory because he believed in the maxim *Salus reipublicæ suprema lex*, and because he held that the pledges of self-restraint entered into by one generation, ignorant of future exigencies, ought not to tie the hands of its successors. In the history of every nation capable of a superb development, the time has come when it has ruptured the withes imposed upon it by treaty. Where would Germany be to-day if Frederick the Great had adhered to the compact by which Prussia had bound herself to the father of Maria Theresa? The unity of Italy would still be unaccomplished had Victor Emanuel respected in

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1870 the treaty made with Napoleon III., which bade the former leave unassailed the sovereignty of the Pope in Rome. How many treaties has England broken in the course of her splendid progress toward a world-dotting empire? From the international viewpoint, the position of the United States in 1850 differed by almost the whole diameter of actual and aspirational being from the acknowledged and prospective situation which they occupy to-day. The change, indeed, may be described by Mr. Whiteley as only a "development," but as truthfully may it be said that the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus was but the development of a polity started many centuries before upon a few hills beside the Tiber. But was the rule of political conduct, nay, was the text of treaties, which had shaped the political course of Rome when, as yet, she aspired not beyond the territory between the Po and the Straits of Messina, to govern her international action when her vast transmarine possessions, and the incidental interests and duties, compelled her to police the Adriatic and to uphold the Roman peace throughout the Mediterranean world? So there was a time, some fifty years ago, when the interests of Great Britain in North America might be reasonably compared by statesmen with ours. Such a comparison to-day would be absurd. Our Pacific States are already equal in wealth and population to many a European kingdom, and are increasing at a rate that must soon place them on a level with Spain, if not with Italy. Will it be said that the thinly-peopled settlements in British Columbia give Great Britain an equal claim in the forum of public equity to a control of the Isthmus waterway, which will give marine communication to our Pacific and Atlantic States?

It is as true of nations as it is of individuals that, when we are men, we should put away childish things. Among the baubles that satisfied or amused our national childhood may be reckoned the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. On general principles of national development, the time would now have come to cast it aside, if it had not been already rendered voidable at our option by an act of the other party, and if that option had not been exercised in 1882 by Mr. Frelinghuysen.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

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TO ABATE THE PLAGUE OF CITY NOISES.

BY JOHN H. GIRDNER, M.D.

In an article on "The Plague of City Noises," published last year in the North American Review, the writer called attention to the injurious and exhausting effects of city noises on the auditory apparatus, and on the whole nervous system of those obliged to live in a closely built and densely populated city. City noises were divided into six classes, and the fact was briefly noted that a large proportion of the noises in each of these classes were entirely unnecessary and ought to be suppressed in the interests of the health and comfort of the people. The formation of a society was suggested whose business it should be to make a systematic study of city noises, to point out those found unnecessary, and, by co-operating with the city authorities, to secure such legislation and enforcement of the same as would suppress them, and to endeavor in every way to create a sentiment in favor of the reduction of the din and confusion in our streets and houses.

The reception accorded to these views and suggestions by the press and public was a surprise. Hundreds of editorial comments were made on the article all over this country and in Europe, in both the lay and medical press, and scores of private letters were received from all sorts and conditions of people throughout the United States. Almost without exception the press everywhere, and especially the medical press, agreed with the contention that the noises of our modern cities are not only a source of great discomfort, but are largely life-shortening and health-wrecking in their effects, and that a vast number of the most annoying of them are entirely unnecessary and ought to be stopped. Letters of thanks for calling attention to this plague were received from sufferers, who urged the organization of the society which had

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been suggested, and offered moral and material support if work should be continued in this line.

The discussion thus aroused has set people thinking on the subject, and has created a sentiment against noise which has already resulted in good. In fact, it may be truly said that a beginning has been made in the work of educating the people to have more regard for the public health and comfort in the matter of unnecessary noise. The Board of Aldermen of New York City passed an ordinance making it unlawful to haul iron or steel beams or rails through the streets of the city unless the same were so loaded as to prevent them from jarring against each other, and a fine of twenty-five dollars was the penalty for its violation. On May 6, 1897, the first arrest was made for violating this ordinance, and the magistrate promptly fined the prisoner twenty-five dollars. Since that day, one sees all beams and rails drawn through the streets wrapped at the ends with old carpet or burlap to deaden the sound. I mention this case to show how easily and effectually unnecessary noises can be abolished if the Aldermen will pass proper ordinances and the police will enforce them. The difficulty in the past has been that people have not appreciated the fact that the continual roar and din in which dwellers in large cities are obliged to live is essentially health-destroying. They have been painfully aware of the discomfort it causes, but they have not realized that city noises are irritating and exhausting to the whole nervous system, and that they are a potent factor in lowering the tone and resisting power of the human mechanism, and play an important part in producing neurasthenia or nervous prostration, and other affections of the brain and nervous system. It is not alone the purer air and change of scene, but also the peace and quiet, of the country that restore health and vigor to all, and especially to invalids and convalescents.

It is little more than a hundred years since the people and their law-makers fully appreciated the immense importance to the public health of thorough house and municipal sanitation. To-day, no care or expense is thought too great to provide proper sewerage, drainage, cleanliness, etc., in our towns and cities. Garbage, dead animals, etc., are not removed from the streets only because they are unsightly, and produce unpleasant odors, but because they are dangerous to health. We contend for the re-

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duction of city noise on precisely the same grounds—not alone because it is a source of great discomfort, though that in itself would be sufficient cause, but because it menaces the general health. City legislation has been woefully inconsistent. For instance, it is unlawful for any person to conduct a business within the limits of New York City which sets free unpleasant odors. Glue factories, fat-rendering establishments, and all other industries which contaminate the air with foul odors, have been closed or driven from the city limits regardless of the pecuniary interests of their owners—not because unpleasant orders are, *per se*, detrimental to the public health, for they are not, but because such odors outrage one of the five senses, viz., that of smell. Yet practically nothing has been done to protect the sense of hearing against unnecessary and obnoxious sounds, which not only produce great discomfort, but are actually destructive to health. It is not contended that all noise can be suppressed, any more than that all unpleasant odors can be abolished. They are to a certain extent necessary evils of life in a large city. But if the same care and thought were exercised by city authorities to suppress and control the noise-makers as have been expended in suppressing and controlliug the odor-makers, the health and comfort of city dwellers would be greatly improved.

Some have fallen into the error of supposing that noise means enterprise, and that the city or town which produces the greatest din in proportion to the number of its inhabitants must of necessity be most rapidly advancing in modern civilization. Whatever else advancing civilization may mean, it certainly means an ever-increasing respect on the part of each individual for the rights, health and comfort of all the others. Churches, hospitals, public and private charities, etc., should not be the only evidences of Christian civilization in our cities. The Kingdom of Heaven on earth is peace and quiet within, and this peace and quiet ought to be reflected in our method of conducting our daily occupations, and the business of our cities should be done with the least possible amount of noise and distraction.

In the best circumstances, city dwellers must always suffer in health and comfort from noise, just as they must always suffer from lack of the purest air, even under the best possible sanitary conditions. But any one who makes a careful study of city noises will be astonished at the very large number which are

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wholly unnecessary, and the abolition of which would in no way interfere with the rights or business interests of those who make them. The noise-makers may be divided into two classes. The first and by far the larger class make unnecessary noise thoughtlessly. They have never had their attention called to the fact that they cause annoyance to others by making noises which are unnecessary; and education and the creation of a sentiment is all that is required to make them as careful to respect the rights and comfort of others in the matter of noise as they are in other respects. A personal experience illustrates what I mean. As I was riding in a street car recently, a respectable-looking young man sat beside me, and for twenty blocks he whistled a sharp, idle, inane whistle, which was manifestly annoying to half a dozen of his fellow-passengers. The car suddenly lurched round a curve, and his foot came lightly in contact with my own. He immediately turned, lifted his hat, bowed to me, and said, "I beg your pardon, sir," and went on whistling. This young man had learned from custom and habit that it is very bad manners not to apologize for even unintentionally jostling another person, but he had not learned that it is very unjust and unkind to others, and therefore bad manners, to torture them with unnecessary noise.

It may be said that the above is an unusual case, and that but few are so rude as to whistle in public places. Well, let us study the so-called fashionable set, those who are generally supposed to have attained to the high-water mark of æstheticism, refinement and all the graces of modern civilization. Go to a fashionable reception or afternoon tea if you want to hear unnecessary noise. My lady's drawing-room is a pandemonium of shouting women. You have no choice but to shout if you wish to converse on these occasions, and the success or failure of one of these functions seems to depend largely on the din which the guests are able to create. These are, however, private pandemoniums, and can be avoided. They only torture those who participate in them. Then even the church people contribute their quota. In these days of innumerable clocks and watches, the ringing of church bells in large cities is simply barbarous, and their painful and injurious effect on the sick and afflicted, the tired and weary, who cannot escape from them, is like anything but the neighborly service of the good Samaritan, who was so warmly commended

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by that Master whose doctrine the churches exist to teach. Attention is called to these instances of unnecessary noise, to show that noise-makers belong to all classes, and that the so-called refined and religious are often as neglectful of the rights of others, in this respect, as the rude and uneducated.

The railroads of New York City are the greatest single source of noise in the streets in which they are operated, and for half a block on either side. The elevated road is the worst offender of all. Conversation in a street through which it runs is practically impossible, owing to the roar and rattle of the passing trains, and it seems impossible that any one should ever be able to sleep in a room anywhere near it. Sleep under such conditions cannot be obtained until the nervous system has become accustomed to this all-night roar. And here attention should be called to a mistaken notion held by some to the effect that because city dwellers have become accustomed to the roar and din which go on around them at all times, and because some of them are able to sleep in rooms adjacent to the elevated road or other din producer, noise is therefore not injurious to them. They have become accustomed to noise, it is true, but the habitual tippler has likewise become accustomed to alcohol, so that he can drink large amounts without showing signs of intoxication. But the noise in the one case, and the alcohol in the other, are certainly producing deleterious effects on the systems of their victims. In other words, it is injurious to sleep where a continuous succession of discordant sounds is poured in on the auditory apparatus.

When one considers the long list of those who have been maimed or killed outright by the cable and trolley cars in Greater New York, it seems almost puerile to complain of their clanging gongs, but as nerve irritators these hold a front rank. The useless bells which jingle from the collars of the horses drawing the horse cars are especially annoying to many persons. These bells were instituted when the space between the car-rails was not paved, and the horses' feet on the soft earth made no warning sound. Now, however, these spaces are all paved, and the clatter of the car horses is sufficient warning, just as the clatter of the horses' feet of private carriages and wagons is all that is necessary to warn pedestrians of their approach. These bells should be abolished.

There is another unnecessary noise connected with surface

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cars which is not only annoying, but is an impertinence to passengers. I refer to the gong in each car, which the conductor is obliged to ring every time he is paid a fare. It is an outrage, after a passenger has paid his passage, to have his auditory apparatus irritated and transformed into a register for the car company, so as to be a spy or detective on the conductor.

Rubber gaskets properly placed under the rails of the elevated roads, and the substitution of electricity or compressed air for steam as a motive power, would greatly lessen the noise which these roads now make. But, in any event, the din created by the elevated and surface cars must always remain in the list of unnecessary noise. It can be entirely abolished by placing the roads under ground. Some idea of the relief to the auditory apparatus which would be experienced if the main car lines of the city were placed under ground can be had by recalling the enormous improvement in the appearance of the streets after the electric wires were placed in the subways and the unsightly poles were removed from the curbs. The network of wires and poles outraged our sense of sight, and the roaring, rattling car lines outrage our sense of hearing. There is this difference, however, that, while the poles and wires were annoying to the sense of sight, they were not detrimental to health, whereas the car lines at once offend the eye, inflict pain upon the ear, and, above all, through the noise they make impair the general health.

The second class of noise-makers seem to take a fiendish delight in creating as much din as possible. They go through quiet residential streets at all hours of the day and night, yelling and shouting, ringing bells and blowing horns, and in a thousand other ways needlessly disturbing the peace and quiet of the neighborhood; taking apparent pleasure in racking the feeble nerves of the sick and invalids, and destroying the sleep of tired and weary brains. Fines and imprisonment are the only means of teaching such people to respect the rights, health and comfort of others.

Horses and wheeled vehicles produce by far the greatest amount of the noise in city streets. Asphalt pavement in all streets is, therefore, a *sine qua non* in reducing noise. Wheels roll over this pavement in silence, except when they pass over an iron manhole cover, when a sudden, unexpected ear-splitting sound is sent forth which can be heard for two blocks, and in

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residential streets, especially at night, is one of the most annoying of street sounds. This source of nerve-irritation is wholly unnecessary. If these manhole covers were made to fit their frames, and were then asphalted like the rest of the street, the pavement would be continuously smooth, and no sound would be emitted when a wheel passed over one of them. Rubber tires also greatly reduce the noise and rattle of carriages. I doubt, however, if any Alderman could be found with courage even to suggest an ordinance requiring that all carriages, of every kind, used on the streets of New York should have rubber tires. Yet the enforcement of such an ordinance would reduce street noise enormously, and would be very far from a hardship to the owners. For I am informed, by one of the leading city manufacturers of wagons and carriages, that rubber tires increase the life of a vehicle one-fourth, and reduce the cost of repairs one-half. In any event, the individual pecuniary loss such an ordinance would cause to this class of noise-makers would never approach that suffered by the odor-makers, whose factories were shut up within the city limits.

The sounds caused by the impact of horses' feet on the pavement seem destined to remain in the list of necessary noises until automobiles entirely supplant the horse. Horseless carriages and wagons, with rubber tires, on properly constructed asphalt pavements, are noiseless, and would be an ideal means of locomotion in city streets. The noise made by horses' feet is not, however, so irritating and painful as many other street sounds of less volume, for the reason that these sounds are produced at regular intervals as the animal walks or trots, and the ear becomes accustomed to their recurrence. All necessary noises are the more bearable because we know that in their making something useful is being accomplished. It is the unlooked-for and unnecessary sounds which do the greatest harm; for to the actual nervous shock of the sufferer is added the irritating sense of a wrong done him.

What valid argument can be adduced to justify the continued existence of the innumerable cats which infest our streets and yards? That people will go on year after year having their sleep destroyed and their tempers perturbed by the nightly caterwaulings of these useless pests is beyond explanation.

There are the useless postman's whistle, the shouting pedlars

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and hucksters, the yelling "rags and bottles" man, the horn-blowing scissor-grinder and four-in-hand driver, with scores of other noise-makers too numerous to mention, who keep up a continuous din of distracting, nerve-wrecking sounds in our residential streets, utterly regardless of the fact that they are causing pain, discomfort, and positive injury to sick and nervous women and children, who cannot escape the torment they cause. It would be no hardship or pecuniary loss to any of these people if they were compelled to conduct their business in a quiet, orderly manner. I have often felt the absurdity of giving the nurse orders to "keep the patient quiet, and the sick room free from noise," when the din from the street below made such a thing impossible.

My contention for less noise is based on the experience and observation of nearly twenty years' practice of my profession in New York City. And I am satisfied that the irritation caused by the din in which we live to-day is essentially health-destroying, and plays no unimportant part in producing disease of the brain and nervous system, and delaying the recovery of the sick. This question of noise is not confined to physical well-being; it is also one of morals. It is wrong to inflict needless pain and discomfort on others, no matter which one of the senses is made to convey the painful sensation. The plague is steadily getting worse. New York can grow only in one direction, and practically the same street space must be used for the daily activities of an ever-increasing population. Complaints and comments against useless noise by individuals will accomplish little. These are sporadic efforts, and their authors are lucky if they escape being called "cranks" by careless and indifferent officials. A careful study of this plague, and of the methods of abating it, is what is needed, and then a concerted effort to make the people's servants, the city officials, take such steps as will abate it. The idea is not to punish or persecute, though some examples are necessary, but to educate; for all classes are involved in this crime.

The very existence of a properly organized and properly conducted "Society for the Prevention of Noise" would be a constant reminder to the thoughtless, and a standing menace to the vicious, noise-makers, and would in time create a sentiment in favor of peace and quiet, and educate people to respect the rights of others in this matter, just as the Society for the Prevention of

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Cruelty to Animals has taught all classes to abstain from unnecessary cruelty to the lower animals.

It would be extending the Golden Rule into a new field of social life. There is unquestionably a strong and wide-spread feeling against the noisy and distracting conditions under which we live at present, and an earnest desire on the part of a majority for improvement. But what is everybody's business is nobody's business. Some such organized effort by earnest men and women as I have suggested would serve to crystallize, concentrate and make effective the general desire for less noise.

JOHN H. GIRDNER.

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PRESENT STATUS OF THE SILVER QUESTION.

BY THE HON. RICHARD P. BLAND.

For years past the gold standard advocates have proclaimed from time to time that the silver question would die out. This was the oft-repeated assurance before and after the Chicago Convention. Every effort was made to stamp out what they were pleased to call the "Silver Craze." But when State after State held its convention, especially in the Mississippi valley, and in the East and South, it was made manifest that the Democratic party would pronounce, in no uncertain way, in favor of the full restoration of the coinage of silver.

Upon the silver question the Chicago platform gave no uncer tain sound. That was the paramount issue in the Presidential election last year. Upon that issue the Democratic party polled six and a half millions of votes. Notwithstanding this fact, it was repeated again and again, immediately after the election, that the end of the silver heresy had come. But wherever Democratic conventions have been held this year the Chicago platform has been endorsed. Indeed, the people are more active, if possible, in support of the free coinage of silver now than they have been heretofore. Recruits to the cause are being made every day. No more is the cause of silver dying out than are truth and justice dying out; as well make the proclamation that liberty is dying out, that patriotism is dying out, that sympathy for human poverty and suffering is dying out, or that the avenging hand of God is paralyzed.

The gold worshippers sit down in an imaginary graveyard, and in their dreams the spectres of millions of silver ghosts startle them from their reveries, and in their excitement they cry out, "The silver question is expiring!" But they never forget, meantime, like the boy in the story, "to keep up a constant

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whistling to arouse their courage." We can assure them that these ghosts will meet them in the Presidential "Philippi" of 1900.

One of the many evidences of the perturbed state of mind of our gold friends is the eagerness with which they seize upon the temporarily increased price for the farmers' wheat to argue that the farmer must now be prosperous and happy; that he no longer looks for the restoration of silver as a necessary means of maintaining the price of farm products. They hail the apparent improvement of the farmers' condition as the forerunner of coming prosperity for all. However, we must remind them that this verifies our contention, "that to the extent the agriculturists prosper so may we expect the country generally to prosper." Up to this hour, however, it has not been usual, in these parts at least, to see farmers driving in coach and four, nor do they, as a rule, wear silk hats or tanned shoes. They feel and look just as they have felt and looked for many years past. It is true the failure of the wheat crop in other countries has, for the time being, strengthened the wheat market, and just now our farmers are getting a price for their wheat just about sufficient to pay the cost of its production.

This state of things ought not to be simply temporary, and dependent upon the accidental failure of crops in other countries. Farm products, as well as all other products of labor, ought to command such a price as would pay the cost of production and yield a profit besides, not merely as a temporary blessing, but as a lasting boon.

The farmer knows that the present price of wheat is but temporary; that although we may have a monopoly this year, so to speak, of the market for breadstuffs, yet this monopoly is liable at any time to be broken by abundant crops in other countries.

There are many other things in this connection that the farmer understands. He is aware of the fact that the tariff baron has a monopoly created for his special benefit by the Dingley tariff bill; he knows that the trusts and "combines" protected by the restrictions of this law can and will rob the farmers and laborers so long as the law remains upon the statute books; he knows also that the transportation lines are seeking measures at the hands of Congress to enable them to maintain their prices by permitting them to pool and combine; he understands further that

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with the prevailing monetary system the plutocrats of the world, who own most of the gold now in use, are seeking to get control of all the known gold mines, so as to enable them the better to control the monopoly of money. This gold monopoly is also a creature of law, and the law can destroy it by the restoration of the free coinage of silver, thus giving a new and competitive supply to our monetary volume. In this connection, and illustrating what we mean by a competitive supply of money, we may compare gold and silver as a monetary supply to corn and wheat as a supply for bread, and quote from the St. Louis *Republic*, of September 1st, the following :

"Some of the more optimistic bulls in the market have gone so far as to predict that the price of corn will go as high as wheat before the end of the year. This seems unreasonable, from the fact that corn is largely dependent upon wheat for its standing. The moment it begins to approximate the price of wheat, just that soon people who are using corn for economical reasons will switch over and begin using wheat. The demand for corn flour will cease if corn rises to anywhere near the price of wheat. The crop estimate this year is 1,800,000,000 bushels, a decrease of 4,000,000 bushels, with the stock of old corn on hand about the same as last year."

Thus bimetallism finds its analogue in the sources of bread-supply. Wheat competes with corn and corn competes with wheat. If we have a scarcity of one there is likely to be a supply of the other sufficient to meet demands. So with gold and silver. Gold has had the monopoly for years, not from natural causes, but through statutory enactments. Under bimetallism the two metals compete, the one with the other, thus relieving the monopoly of money. The scarcity of the one metal could be made up from the supply of the other. Not so with the monopolies as now existing under the gold standard and under the protective tariff laws, and all systems of trusts and combinations. What little profit there may be at the present time in the farmers' wheat is swept away when he comes to purchase his sugar at trust prices and other supplies from other trusts and combinations.

No tariff bill can protect the farmer so long as he must look to the foreign market to consume his surplus, and to fix the price of his products. The more gold we drain from the countries to which we export our farm products for sale, the lower we drive prices in those countries, and necessarily the less gold the farmer gets for his export.

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The free coinage of silver here would give a competing monetary supply and destroy the gold monopoly. All the silver money we coined and put in circulation would lessen the demand for gold the world over. It would lower the purchasing power of gold, or, what is the same thing, increase the purchasing power of labor and the products of labor, as measured in gold. Rising prices for labor and for production would set the wheels of industry in motion, giving employment to labor everywhere, thus enabling the people to purchase and consume our products. Prices would be maintained, not by limiting the supply of production, whether such limiting resulted from natural causes or from restrictive legislation. We contend that this would be brought about by the restoration of silver. The coining of silver at our mints would be the same as the adding of so much gold to the world's money. This is so because we are a part of the world, and the greatest nation of all; having a greater need for money, we would have a greater demand than all Europe for gold and silver. Our coined silver would do duty as money the world over, for the reason that it would take the place of the gold of other countries we would likely draw here for uor use.

We have heretofore been assured by the advocates of the gold standard that we had sufficient gold for all monetary uses; some went so far as to insist that we had more money than was necessary. Now we are told by the gold press that good times are near at hand. They exaggerate the story from Alaska and point to the frozen shores of the Klondike and the Yukon as the place whence we are to draw immense quantities of gold, rivalling the outputs of Australia and California, and with this increased supply of money business is to be increased the world over. We have told them from the start that our own silver mines were rich enough to accomplish all this, and had our advice been heeded and silver restored years ago, good prices would have been maintained and prosperity secured to our country for generations to come; there would have been no necessity to depend upon the uncertain prognosis of the wild rumors that come to us as to the abundance of gold in the British possessions.

It is a cruel policy to the American people to legislate against their own product—silver—to disgrace and debase that metal, and the only effect of that policy is to destroy our own wealth at the bidding of the power and wealth of other countries.

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There are other questions, however, cognate to the silver question, that must receive consideration in the discussion of the present political situation, some of which we have already alluded to. The single gold standard is not only a monopoly of money, but it is used as a means to perpetuate and control other monopolies. While the gold standard advocates will contend that low prices are a good thing, we must be permitted to say that in reality they desire low prices for all the people except themselves. We have observed that all the monopolies are advocates of the gold standard; that all the trusts and combines, the stock gamblers, grain gamblers, all who seek to control the distribution of property for their selfish ends, belong to the gold standard class; that tariff barons are advocates of the gold standard, and that they are persuaded that the prices of all things, except what they produce, should be low; and that they even seek by every means within their power to secure legislation, the effect of which is to maintain their prices by giving them a monopoly of the market. All trusts and combinations, whether formed under the protection of the tariff, or from the amassing of enormous wealth in the hands of the few (and by this power controlling the markets), or whether by means of pooling and similar arrangements, have for their object the maintenance of the prices of things controlled by monopolies. They all aim at high prices for their property or for the things that they have to sell, and at low prices for the farmers and laborers of the country who produce the raw material. The restoration of the free coinage of silver would, therefore, have a tendency to place the prices on a common level by breaking up the gold monopoly and destroying the power of trusts and combines. Good prices maintained by the restoration of silver would affect all alike; it would not be class legislation, but, on the contrary, it would effect a more even distribution of the products of labor.

The promoters of the single gold standard advocate a monetary policy that compels low prices; but they refuse to conform to the results of their doctrine. They organize pools and combines to maintain the values of things in which they are especially interested.

The force of law, the power of wealth, the instrumentalities of trusts and combines are used unmercifully to keep up prices for the rich. Thus the farmers, as well as all other laborers and

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producers, are made the helpless victims of a contracting standard of money. Bimetallism would support good prices for all alike, thus removing to a great extent the incentive or cause for class legislation, the unlawful and immoral practices referred to, in order to maintain prices.

It is useless for the gold standard advocates, in the face of the facts and arguments above stated, to pretend longer that low prices are a good thing, or that we have a sufficient amount of money now in circulation, or that the gold standard is not the creature of monopoly and in its turn the promoter of monopoly.

The silver question is, therefore, the paramount issue in our politics, for it means the restoration of the government to the control of the people, that it is no longer to be made the mere instrument by which certain classes are to prosper at the expense of the masses.

The question of international bimetallism is in the same condition as heretofore. That is to say, while good in theory, so to speak, from the standpoint of those who advocate it, yet as a practical proposition there has never been anything in it, except that it has had the effect of delaying action on the part of our government. No doubt, many who advocate international bimetallism, and who believe we ought to await the action of other countries, are sincere in their professions and theories; yet, as a matter of fact, the controlling influences that have brought about international conferences and dominated their proceedings and deliberations, have been adverse to bimetallism of any kind, national or international. The plea for international bimetallism has been used as a criminal in court would use an affidavit for a continuance, when his only object was delay and not justice. The scheme has worked well by amusing the people with hopes of the restoration of silver, while the single gold standard advocates, especially the great banking houses, have been busily engaged in the work of coercing one weak nation after another into the policy of adopting gold monometallism. Thus, pending the consideration of international bimetallism, Austria adopted the gold standard with other countries in Europe; then came India, which, under the coercion of the English government, suspended the free coinage of silver in 1893; and this country, responding to the same influences, suspended the purchase of silver under the Sherman act. A

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committee of bankers from Japan, some three years ago, visited this country to investigate the subject of silver and gold, and from here they went to Mexico and elsewhere with the same view, so it was said. The result is that, under the advice of the bankers, Japan has put a limit upon the coinage of silver. Press dispatches from Mexico inform us that the great bankers of Mexico are contemplating urging upon their government the suspension of the coinage of silver, and the bankers of Europe, working through their agents throughout Central and South America, are exerting every effort to accomplish that purpose in the South American States. While we are delaying and amusing ourselves with efforts to bring about an international agreement, the only agreement that we see as the result is the concerted action of great banking houses in the world to conquer one nation after another and to force upon them the English monetary system.

Had we acted years ago by restoring the free coinage of silver, we would have settled the question for the world; or had the people at the last election voted for bimetallism, Japan and other nations would have gone on coining silver free, India would have probably opened her mints by this time, and perhaps France and the Latin Union; the whole tide would have been turned in favor of bimetallism. Hence the importance of this nation's acting at the earliest moment possible.

Our commercial power and demands for money exceed those of all Europe combined. The United States holds the key to the situation. We can unlock the vaults and set free the silver of the world. In other words, we can break down the dam that now confines silver by permitting that metal to flow freely into and out of our mints. We can thus establish an international bimetallism that will assure free circulation and glad acceptance to both gold and silver as money throughout the commercial world.

It needs a great, free and independent people such as ours, with our immense territory and resources, a population of over seventy millions—probably nearly eighty millions, and soon to reach one hundred millions—of industrious, enterprising citizens, to take the lead in undoing a great wrong for which in the main, at least, we were responsible. That we will do so in the future, and in the near future, all the indications go to point out as a certainty.

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The silver question, therefore, as it pertains to this country and the world, is more pressing than ever, and must be settled, and settled rightly, before any lasting prosperity, or any hope of permanent prosperity for our great country, can be enjoyed by our people.

The effort now being made to divert attention from this subject because of a little spurt in business activities occasioned by the failure of crops abroad will soon be dissipated.

The vain hope of an enormous yield of gold in Alaska, as relied upon by the gold standard advocates, will prove a delusion. It is not at all likely that any great quantities of gold can be dug from that inhospitable region, even if gold may exist there in great quantities, as the difficulties of mining it are so great; therefore, no reliance can be placed upon that source of supply.

Our hope and safety is in the opening up of our own rich mines of silver, that the world may be blessed with a full volume of money, derived not from British gold alone, but also from the great silver product of the American continent.

To sum up the question. We must break up the gold monopoly, or the monopoly occasioned by the gold standard, by the restoration of the free coinage of silver. In accomplishing this, we will also, in a great measure, if not entirely, remove from further obstruction to trade and business the trusts, combines, pools and syndicates, now fattening upon the labor of the people of this country.

"Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever persuasion, religious or political," is one of the grand political maxims given to us by Thomas Jefferson. The advocates of the free coinage of silver aim at conforming to those principles and so bringing this government back to the control of the masses of the people that it may be conducted for their benefit—that is to say, for the benefit of all alike. The cause is just and will prevail.

R. P. BLAND.

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INDIA'S CASE FOR SILVER.

BY A. S. GHOSH, PROF. OF ECONOMICS, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

EXPERIENCE has taught us that the monetary policy of a nation which, because of its industrial activity or the size of its population, is an extensive user of the precious metals, often produces effects, for better or for worse, far beyond the zone of its political power and influence. During the first fifty years of this century the total production of silver in the world was about 27.6 times that of gold, whereas during the next twenty years, owing to the enormous gold discoveries in California and Australia, the "weight ratio" of silver production to that of gold fell to about 5.3; yet, during all that time the Latin Union was enabled by its bimetallic system to maintain an unvarying ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$:1 throughout Europe. Again, in 1873, the course of Germany in demonetizing silver caused the suspension of the Latin Union, and thereby accelerated the fall in the value of silver. Finally, in 1890, the enactment of the Sherman Act in the United States produced the immediate effect in India of raising the exchange value of the rupee from 1s. $4\frac{1}{2}$d. to 1s. 8d.; and conversely, in 1893, the closing of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver led to, or at least hastened, the repeal of the Sherman Act in America, and helped to accentuate those conditions which nearly brought about Mr. Bryan's election last year.

At the present moment, then, the two countries which are most vitally concerned in the solution of the silver question are the United States and India. To the former it is a question of general prosperity and happiness, and of national advancement; to the latter it is a question of life and death. It will, therefore, be interesting and profitable to the great American people, perhaps, to study the position of India in the matter, and to understand what co-operation she may be expected to give if Senator

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Wolcott's mission be attended with success; otherwise, if Mr. Bryan be able to fulfill in 1900 the hopes he has raised; or to anticipate what India may do, even single-handed, in sheer desperation, if the present famine is prolonged, as it now threatens to be, beyond human endurance.

Let it not be supposed for an instant that the closing of the mints of India was the act of the Indian people, or even of the Indian government. It was the act of the home authorities in England, the supreme controllers of the destinies of India. For the last twenty years the continuous depreciation of silver had entailed on the Indian government a continuous loss in remitting the home charges, an amount which varied from £16,000,000 to £19,000,000 per annum. Fresh taxations, loans, the appropriation of funds intended for other purposes—in fact, every makeshift to which an embarrassed government could resort—had been tried with little avail, when about the time of the Brussels Conference the Indian government in despair implored the home authorities to permit it to enter into some arrangement with the United States, where the Sherman Act was still in force, to establish a more stable equilibrium between gold and silver. But England remained deaf to the cry of the Indian government. It was said that the cry for silver was but the cry of interested American mine owners—notwithstanding the fact that the British Empire alone contained more silver than the capitalized value of all American silver mines, because there were in India silver hoards amounting to 1,300,000,000 ounces! In consequence the home authorities compelled the Indian government to close the mints as an alternative. This was done at a stroke of the pen, and without notice to the people. It was one more sacrifice to the golden calf of England's monometallism.

Now, the people of India have been accustomed from time immemorial to hoard their savings in silver, the system of banking being hitherto unknown in the country. Their usual plan is to convert rupees into bangles, armlets, bracelets and other simple ornaments which require little workmanship. In times of distress, and so long as the mints were open, as for instance during the famine of 1877, these ornaments were taken to the village silversmith, who gave full value for them, weight for weight, in rupees, deducting a small commission for his labor. These ornaments were ultimately taken to the mints, but in the interim

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they often passed current as legal tender money, both parties to each transaction knowing that they could be converted at the mints into rupees at any moment. The government, however, closed the mints in 1893. In consequence, the Indians find that what they had hitherto looked upon as practically legal tender money is now no more than a mere commodity—a commodity for which there is but a limited demand, especially at a moment of universal distress. It is indeed difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the resulting loss to the Indian people, for many economic factors must necessarily enter into such an investigation; but we are in a position to form some idea of the magnitude of this loss by means of a simple arithmetical calculation. Taking gold as a common denominator, the bullion value of silver is now only 24d. per ounce, whereas the value of a coined rupee is about 1s. 3½d., which gives a rate of 40¼d. per ounce of the silver in it. Hence, the difference between the face-value and the bullion-value of the rupee is as 40¼ to 24; that is, the bullion-value is only three-fifths of the face-value, which fact implies a loss of two-fifths, or 40 per cent., to the people of India in selling their silver hoards for coined rupees. But owing to the recent rapid fall of silver and the grave apprehension and uncertainty felt as regards its future position, the silver dealers in India are charging at least an additional 10 per cent. (besides their usual commission) to cover all risks. Hence the total loss to the people of India is about 50 per cent. of their savings. This is a question of such momentous importance at a time of national calamity that it will be necessary to revert to it again.

This, then, is the present condition of affairs in India—half the savings of her people confiscated by the closing of the mints and her exchequer impoverished by the loss in exchange. Let us now consider what it would be if silver were restored to its former value or thereabout (the mints being reopened *ipso facto*), and, consequently, if the exchange value of the rupee improved proportionately.

In remitting the home charges the Indian government loses every year a sum varying from 100,000,000 rupees to 150,000,000 rupees, according to the amount of those charges and the current rate of exchange as compared with the former value of 2s. per rupee—the sum total of loss during the last three years (*i. e.*,

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since the closing of the mints) being 392,000,000 rupees, or an average of 130,000,000 rupees per annum. Hence this amount would be saved to the taxpayers of India were the rupee to be raised again to 2s., or a somewhat less amount if the rupee did not rise quite so high. Let us consider the details of this calculation. The home charges may be reckoned at a yearly average of £17,500,000, and the rate of exchange at an average of 1s. 2½d. per rupee for one financial year. With these figures we shall consider the saving in each of the three following cases, viz., if the rupee rose to 2s., to 1s. 9d., and to 1s. 8d., respectively:

£17,500,000 @ 1s. 2½d. per rupee = Rs. 290,000,000
£17,500,000 @ 2s. " " = Rs. 175,000,000
£17,500,000 @ 1s. 9d. " " = Rs 200,000,000
£17,500,000 @ 1s. 8d. " " = Rs. 210,000,000

Hence the saving:

(1.) @ 2s. = Rs. 290,000,000 — Rs. 175,000,000 = Rs. 115,000,000
(2.) @ 1s. 9d. = Rs. 290,000,000 — Rs. 200,000,000 = Rs. 90,000,000
(3.) @ 1s. 8d. = Rs. 290,000,000 — Rs. 210,000,000 = Rs. 80,000,000

But this is not the only possible saving to the Indian government. Apart from the home charges, there are two other items of expenditure which entail a heavy loss on the Indian government owing to the fall in exchange. The salaries of the 72,000 British troops stationed in India are paid in pounds sterling, and not in rupees. Hence, the resulting loss to the government is about 11,343,000 rupees (for the financial year 1894–95), or, say, 10,000,000 rupees in round numbers. Moreover, all British employees of the Indian government, whether civil or military, whose salaries are reckoned in rupees, receive a compensation from the government for any fall in exchange below 1s. 9d. The resulting loss to the government amounted to 12,392,750 rupees in the year 1894–95, or, say, 11,000,000 rupees. Hence, the total loss in India, that is, apart from the home charges, is about 21,000,000 rupees per annum. Consequently, a restoration in the value of the rupee would save this amount to the taxpayers of India. As a sufficient allowance has already been made in reducing this amount, and as the maximum value of the rupee has been taken at an average of 1s. 9d., we need not consider any other variation in the amount, but treat it as roughly constant for our argument.

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Hence the total annual saving to the Indian government in each of the three cases mentioned above is the following:

(1.) = Rs. 115,000,000 + Rs. 21,000,000 = Rs. 136,000,000
(2.) = Rs. 90,000,000 + Rs. 21,000,000 = Rs. 111,000,000
(3.) = Rs. 80,000,000 + Rs. 21,000,000 = Rs. 101,000,000

Now let us consider what amount of taxation might be remitted if this saving were effected. In the financial year 1894–95 the total Indian revenue was 951,874,000 rupees. Of this sum the three items which usually press most heavily upon the tax-payers, especially the poorer and the lower-middle classes, are the salt tax, the income tax, and customs. The net amounts obtained from these sources, after deducting the costs of collection, were in 1894–95:

Salt tax	Rs. 81,670,000
Income tax	Rs. 17,780,000
Customs	Rs. 36,800,000
Total	Rs. 136,250,000

Salt Tax.—In India salt is a government monopoly, as it was in France before the Revolution. The effect of the monopoly is to raise the price to the consumer some 2,000 per cent. above the free market price. This is a heavy burden on the poorer classes, whose daily meal invariably consists of a handful of rice, or some other grain, flavored with a little salt. The government preserves its right to this monopoly by the most stringent laws, as was also done in France before the Revolution. The writer has personally met with a few cases where some famine-stricken people utilized a little salt scooped out of the sand on the seashore after the tide had receded, in order to cook some wild vegetables gathered from the jungle. For this crime a fine of two rupees was imposed by the magistrate, or a short term of imprisonment as an alternative—the latter being joyfully preferred by the delinquents as being at least a guarantee against starvation. The government, however, has agreed to repeal this tax when its finances are in a less distressing condition.

Income Tax.—This is a tax on incomes from all sources at the rate of 4 pies in the rupee (*i. e.*, in the same proportion as 5d. in the £) on incomes between 500 rupees and 2,000 rupees per annum, and at 5 pies in the rupee (*i. e.*, as 6¼d. in the £) on incomes of 2,000 rupees and above. This tax is understood to be only a temporary measure, rendered necessary at present by the critical financial condition of the government. It presses very

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heavily on the lower-middle classes because of its low incidence.* Even if this tax were retained, but its minimum limit of incidence altered to an income of 1,000 rupees per annum or thereabout and the rate increased on a sliding scale for the higher limits, the same amount of net revenue might be obtained, because the cost of collection is proportionately greater in the case of small incomes than of large. If, however, the former change be carried out without the latter, the remission of tax would almost amount to 8,000,000 rupees.

Customs.—This is a duty on *all* imported goods at an average rate of 5 per cent. of their value—except certain commodities which come under sumptuary laws, and which are reckoned at a higher rate. If the latter alone were retained and the new custom duties repealed, so that the *status quo* of 1893–94 were restored—because the change is declared to be caused by the present embarrassment of the government—the net revenue derived would be (as in 1893–94) about 15,385,000 rupees, *i. e.*, there would be a remission of 21,415,000 rupees.

Hence, to sum up, the remission of taxation desirable is—

Salt tax (totally)	Rs. 81,670,000
Income tax (partially)	Rs. 8,000,000
Customs (partially)	Rs. 21,415,000
Total	Rs. 111,085,000

It will therefore be seen from the list of total possible savings to the Indian government in the three cases mentioned above, that :

(1.) In the first case, the saving would be effected completely, with even a margin of about 25,000,000 rupees, which might advantageously be employed in irrigation and other works as safeguards against future famines.

(2.) In the second, the saving would just be effected.

(3.) In the third, the remission suggested above would cause a deficit of about 10,000,000 rupees. This amount, however, could be made up by a suitable variation in customs (*e. g.*, by retaining a few goods used solely by the upper classes), or even by means of the suggested graduation in the higher limits of the income tax.

It will consequently be apparent that a restoration in the

* No evidence to prove the general poverty of India could be stronger than the fact that this tax realizes only 17,780,000 rupees in British India among a total population of 221,000,000.

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value of silver would be highly beneficial to India. Some are, indeed, inclined to argue that, notwithstanding the present heavy burden upon the taxpayers of India, the depreciation of silver is really to the advantage of the country, inasmuch as it helps to develop her infant industries by acting as a protection. Now, it must be noted that the chief productions of the country are agricultural, whereas the industries thus benefited are manufactural, and therefore very small in comparison with the rest. Also, these industries are almost exclusively worked by English capital, and therefore primarily benefit Englishmen at home, or Englishmen in India who return home with their savings. This capital, no doubt, gives some employment to Indian labor, but that benefits only an infinitesimal portion of the whole population. Moreover, this protection does not benefit the consumers of the goods protected, because, according to the laws of economics, the prices of these goods manufactured in India are raised in proportion to every rise in the prices of similar goods which are imported. Finally, even granting this argument of protection to be sound in itself, it can only be applied to a free country and not to one in the position of India, which, as a dependency, has to meet a heavy tributary burden in the shape of home charges.

It will accordingly be admitted that the proposed restoration in the value of silver is absolutely to the advantage of India. But how can this restoration be brought about? I would venture to maintain that the United States and France, the two countries which are the most earnest and the most powerful advocates of this cause, are quite able by joint action to restore silver to its former value, provided they receive some co-operation from other countries. England need not give up her gold standard—if she still loves it not wisely but too well. Hitherto, she alone has blocked the way and acted as the dog in the manger; but the time is at hand when she will be compelled to yield some co-operation to the cause of bimetallism, even in the interest of her own Empire; nay, even in furtherance of that selfishness in the blind pursuit of which she has brought things to such a pass in the most populous portion of that Empire. But she is not asked for much; she is only requested, in the event of a bimetallic agreement between the United States and France:

(1.) To offer facilities for a greater use of silver in the British Isles, and

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(2.) To reopen the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver.

The former she may easily do by:

(*a.*) Making silver legal tender to a higher amount than 40s., say to 60s. or 80s.

(*b.*) Making silver an alternative basis for notes, and, if necessary, by lowering the present minimum value of notes from £5 to (say) £3 or £1.

(*c.*) Compelling the Bank of England to hold at least one-fifth of its reserve in silver (which it is at present legally empowered to do).

(*d.*) Giving more play to silver by withdrawing from circulation the half-sovereign, a coin which entails a substantial annual loss on the nation by its greater wear and tear and the facility it affords to the practice of dishonesty, besides having the disadvantage of being easily lost by its owner.

As for the reopening of the Indian mints, if the proposed international agreement helps to maintain the free coinage value of the rupee at a higher rate than 1s. 4d.—which undoubtedly it must—then it would obviously be to the advantage of the Indian government to adopt this measure. It is, indeed, true that it is not to the interest of London bankers and their allies that the present state of things should be changed, and recent events have shown that every loss of the starving taxpayers of India is their gain. Now that the mischief of closing the Indian mints has been done, and the people of India have suffered, some irreparably, and the result aimed at has been reached, viz., the shrinkage in the volume of the Indian currency, it passes all human understanding to know why the authorities still take less than the full legal value of the rupee (1s. 4d.) in the sale of India Council bills. During the first six months of this year the stringency of the Indian money market was so great that banks in India were refusing to give loans at 10 per cent., even on government securities, and consequently the authorities might have sold India Council bills to English bankers who had to make remittances to India at even a small premium above the legal rate of 1s. 4d. per rupee. But during all that time these bills were offered at an average rate of 1s. 2$\frac{1}{2}$d. per rupee, thereby conferring a clear profit of over 10 per cent. on English bankers as a free gift, at the cost of the famine-stricken people of India. Whether this fact argues the incompetence or the callousness of

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the authorities, is immaterial; it is at least one more proof that the interests of India are ever sacrificed on behalf of every class in England which has any influence with the authorities.

But the time is at hand when this shall no longer be possible. The Indian famine is not yet over, nay, it is worse than it ever was before. The number of people engaged in relief works has swollen to 4,000,000 per day, and the rains have again failed this year. There is general disaffection in India, bursting forth here and there into open hostility. If the famine and the plague had not come, perhaps the people would not have realized to the fullest extent the significance of the closing of the mints. These, however, are the very misfortunes which have compelled them to bring out their hoarded savings to reconvert them into rupees; and for the first time they have realized that, without their knowledge, the government has reduced those savings to half their original value. As yet the people have taken no action; their leaders have not yet taken up this question. But the time is fast approaching when they will, and the news will spread from bazaar to bazaar, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, that while the government was avowing to help them in their misery, it was confiscating without their knowledge half their wealth. The Indian people do not argue; they believe implicitly what is told to them; consequently they will learn that the government which they have so long deemed to be parental, and in their simple tongue have called *ma-bap*, is but a step-parent.

Eminent Englishmen have challenged the world to gainsay their proud vaunt that England was, like a second Providence, ever watching over the destinies of the 300 millions of India with a transcendental altruism without parallel in the history of righteous and capable rule; that the guardianship of India was committed to England for divine purposes, and that she ruled over that country for the sake of the Indians first, and for revenue and reputation and power afterwards.* We have long been in search of the lineal descendants of the Pharisee who went up into the temple to pray, and we must now confess that the rightful claimants to that proud heritage of ninteeen centuries have at last made good their claim. England, however, is not called upon to exercise her usual magnanimity, generosity, and righteous-

* The NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, 1897.

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ness—these she may well reserve for more fitting occasions ; but she is requested to consult the interests of her own Empire, which are even now in peril. If she refuses to act now that she has the assistance of two great nations like France and the United States, she may be compelled in a few months to reopen the Indian mints single handed, when the present dark clouds on the Indian horizon threaten a storm of unprecedented fury. This is no false alarm ; for the position of the Indian government is indeed critical. Lord George Hamilton, of course, declared in the House of Commons a short time ago that the credit of the Indian government never stood so high as it does now ; but the proof of the grave uneasiness felt about India, notwithstanding his denial, lies in the fact that whereas last year's 3 per cent. India loan was snapped up in the London market at 103, this year's 3½ per cent. loan had to be offered at 97, instead of at 120, which would be the proportionate amount.

So, then, it is to the interest of England to accept the willing co-operation of her neighbors and to reopen the Indian mints. If, however, notwithstanding every entreaty, she proves false to her own and the world's interest, then she may learn to her cost that other nations can act without her, and may see the very thing come to pass in retribution which she has so long opposed. If she still continue to block the way, if Senator Wolcott's mission fail and the Indian mints remain unopened, then the last hope of India must lie in Mr. Bryan. If three years hence his efforts are crowned with success, which necessarily they must be if nothing is done meanwhile to solve the great question, he will perhaps find the gold worshippers of Europe, headed by England, waiting in trepidation in his antechamber to entreat an international agreement. That will be the hour of his triumph, and in the anticipation of it the three hundred millions of India will wish him God-speed with all the power of their stricken hearts.

A. S. GHOSH.

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THE REJUVENATION OF THE JEW.

BY THE REV. DR. H. PEREIRA MENDES.

"BEYOND belief," all will say "that aught in nature can exist unless it performs the function assigned to it in nature's economy." If anything lives, it follows that it is performing its function. For failure to do so means decay and death. The laws that obtain in the material world, obtain with equal force in the domain of things spiritual. The Jew still exists. He must be performing some function. History attests that it is rather spiritual than material. There is no decay or death in it. And since in nature nothing is wasted, but everything is utilized, transmuted, and invested with new powers, new life, let us look for the same miracle in the world-story of the Jew.

Cymri, Britons, Saxons, Danes, Normans have in England been transmuted into Englishmen. They live with new powers, new life, in the people whose restless spirit has won such victories in peace and war, whose enterprise ploughs distant seas and founds empires in erst unknown lands.

The wild tribes that roamed German forests, and hurled back Rome's legions in defeat and extermination in the Teutoburg wood, have to-day become crystallized into the nation whose wonderful strides towards commercial world-supremacy astonish and win admiration. Where great rivers for centuries deposited slime amid ocean's sand-banks some "wretched ichthyophagi" wrestled with nature, forced back the wild sea, drained the swamps, and birthed the great Dutch nation, whose beggars of Brederode in the Calenberg mansion one April night began the grand fight against the edicts of Philip and the Inquisition. Her warriors broke Spain's pride, her seamen all but made her queen of the seas, and her people to-day stand exemplars of sturdy independence, industry, and simplicity.

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And does not this great country of the United States show similar transmutation of races and the resultant new powers, new life, which make her a young giant destined to write a deathless name on the scroll of history?

Yet England and Germany, Holland and the United States have of themselves benefited the world but materially. Whatever benefit of a spiritual nature they have conferred upon humanity has been simply the conversion of savages to the religion and the ideals of the Semite, not of the Aryan. Their spiritual achievements have been but to spread over the earth a book called the Bible, which was written by Jews, and the teachings of Jesus, who was himself a Jew.

On the other hand, from the days when King Arthur ruled, or Varro lost his legions; from the day the races of the Scheldt and Meuse first fought the elements, and Icelanders first saw "Greenland's icy mountains"—and for how many ages before these events!—the Jew existed, separate, watching, suffering, hoping—always hoping! Was he, is he, simply an abnormality of nature? Did he have, has he, no function to perform? True, his blood has mixed with all nations; from the days of the Hebrew woman who married a Tyrian, and whose son "came to King Solomon and wrought all his work"; from the days when the prophet Joel thundering his charge against Tyre and Sidon, those great seaports of antiquity, exclaimed, "The children also of Judah and Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians," even to the present day, when trace of Jewish blood is found in many a family, especially of the aristocracy. But as a nation he has remained, and he still remains, separate and distinct. Is it a result of human agency, or has a Power invisible and invincible so willed it? His own law-book tells the Jew: "Ye shall be holy for Me, for I the Eternal am holy, and I have severed you from the peoples that ye should be Mine."*

His victories have been but partly material. He has shown himself time and again endowed with the powers of mind to win renown as merchant or as scholar. He helped the Moor, if indeed he did not often teach him, to light for Christian students their torches of learning whose gleams dispelled the dark ages. His sons were in the following of Columbus, and if late research be true, it was a Jew and not Queen Isabel who supplied that navi-

* Lev. xx. 26.

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gator with funds for his great voyage. Certainly they helped Vasco da Gama. Certainly it was Behaim, aided by Roderigo and Joseph, who in 1480 invented the astrolabe. And equally certain it is that in modern enterprise the sons of the Hebrew are among the earliest settlers in African, Australian, and American wilds.

But his chief victories, his noblest victories, have been spiritual. The book and the teachings most loved, and most cherished, and most honored by modern civilization are the book and the teachings already referred to—the Book of the Jew, and the teachings of the Jew.

And now the most wonderful fact confronts us, a fact before which his past victories almost pale. This ancient nation, old when every modern nation was born, is becoming invested with new powers, new life, new youth. It is impossible not to see the signs. The process of his regeneration may have been slow, or may seem to have been slow, to us who are living at the moment of his apparent rejuvenation. It is some two hundred and fifty years since England opened her doors to him. It is a hundred years since France declared his equality. In the rest of Europe, and even in this country, liberties have been but slowly yielded to him. The revolution of 1848 did much for him. The fight for rights in England was won at last, though not half a century has passed since the House of Commons opened to him the portals of its historic hall. Two hundred and fifty years! What are two and three hundred years to a race whose history counts years by the thousand?

During this quarter of a millennium, the Jew has been slowly gathering strength. Strange to say, it was a hostile act which first demonstrated his inherent vitality and proved his rejuvenescence. The hostile act was the abduction of young Mortara. The Jewish world was thrilled by the outrage. Anglo-Jewish, Franco-Jewish, and German-Jewish indignation was echoed by American-Jewish protest, and the sympathetic meetings, speeches, articles, and resolutions told the Jewish race throughout the wide world that the scattered nation had but one national heart, and that the life-blood as it pulsed in the old world or in the new was as healthy and vivific as ever.

The practical result was the organization of the Jews in the great countries. France took the lead by founding the *Alliance*

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Israelite Universelle, with which is identified forever the name of Cremieux—the same Cremieux in whose hands France herself reposed such sacred national trusts a few years later. England followed, with its Anglo-Jewish Association, Germany with its *Allianz*, and the United States with its Board of Delegates.

These societies watch Jewish rights, and when occasion arises they use the regular channels of interference through the governments of the countries of their adoption; witness the action of the Berlin Conference in connection with Roumania and her treatment of her Hebrew population. They attempt the championship of the oppressed Jews throughout the world, and endeavor to ameliorate their lot. Their vigilance is ceaseless. Within the last few weeks the good offices of this government have, upon representation of one of these societies, been exercised on behalf of Hebrews exposed to religious persecution in the land of the Shah. They form by means of their committees a ready means for joint action in any emergency; and just as they supplied ready material of skilled brains to guide the awful exodus from Russia fifteen years ago, they stand ready at an hour's notice to organize in order to grapple unitedly with any problem affecting their race.

Noble as is all this work, yet nobler is their educational effort.

They support schools from the West coast of Africa to the distant East, wherein boys and girls are taught in the most approved methods by trained teachers. I doubt if the Christian world is even aware of this activity. Perhaps the best way to show the enormous work thus attempted, and indeed accomplished, will be to present a list of the schools supported by the "Alliance."

Location.	Directing and teaching staff.	Servants.	Number of pupils.	Paying pupils.	Apprentices learning trades.
Aden	6	1	102	61 boys	7 boys
a. Aleppo	6	1	128	55 "	21 "
b. "	4	1	70	29 girls	.....
a. Adrianople	12	3	260	121 boys	24 boys
b. "	10	2	484	174 girls	20 girls
c. "	..	..	869	195 boys	.....
a. Bagdad	8	2	238	132 boys	21 boys
b. "	4	2	64	42 girls	34 girls
a. Beyrout	4	1	108	38 boys	7 boys
b. "	8	1	100	26 girls	10 girls
Bottosani	11	..	329	.....	.....
Bourgas	Girl school opened October, 1896.				

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Location.	Directing and teaching staff.	Servants.	Number of Pupils.	Paying Pupils.	Apprentices learning trades.
a. Broussa	5	1	115	53 boys	.....
b. "	4	1	64	38 girls	.....
a Caiffa	6	2	141	51 boys	9 boys
b. "	3	1	82	30 girls	.....
Cairo	8	2	217	209 boys	.....
Chio	3	1	62	27 boys and girls	
a. Chumla	5	1	131	0 boys	9 boys
b. "	5	1	120	0 girls	12 girls
Constantinople :					
a. District of Balata	8	2	263	94 boys	12 boys
b. " "	6	2	325	75 girls	8 girls
a. " Kuskunjuk.	8	2	257	100 boys	.....
b. " "	7	3	227	106 girls	.....
a. " Galata	7	2	197	93 boys	42 boys
b. " "	8	3	330	88 girls	45 girls
c. " "	4	2	144	9 boys	.....
a. " Haskuey	9	2	327	141 boys	.....
b. " "	9	3	409	141 girls	61 girls
" Haskuey Asile.	1	..	46	10 "	.....
" Haskuey Conorte	5	2	260	140 boys	.....
" Haydar Pacha	5	2	129	98 "	.....
a. " Ortakuey	..	..	Closed 1896; boys		
b. " "	6	2	176	73 girls	15 girls
a. Damas	6	2	201	121 boys	33 boys
b. "	9	3	297	130 girls	13 girls
c. "	14	2	446	281 boys	.....
a. Dardanelles	5	1	139	63 boys	.....
b. "	3	1	130	64 girls	.....
Fez	6	1	133	45 boys	.....
a. Jaffa	8	1	160	45 "	8 boys
b. "	7	1	167	32 girls	.....
Jerusalem	..	..	147	55 "	102 "
a. Magnesia	5	1	160	66 boys	9 "
b "	2	1	85	35 girls	.....
a. Mogador	4	1	96	31 boys	.....
	..	..	Girls' school (small subvention).		
Monastir	8	2	205	120 boys	.....
Pergamus	4	1	80	65 "	.....
a. Phillipopolis	8	1	393	0 "	12 boys
b. "	10	1	487	300 girls	14 girls
a. Rustchuk	6	1	221	0 boys	.....
b. "	6	1	150	0 girls	.....
a. Salonica	13	2	384	56 boys	100 boys
b. "	12	3	293	154 girls	13 girls
Samaroff	5	1	124	85 boys	17 boys
a. Smyrna	11	2	301	51 "	56 "
b. "	9	2	330	75 girls	40 girls
c. "	10	2	507	10 boys	.....
d. "	5	1	106	44 mixed	.....
a. Sofia	17	3	853	0 boys	22 boys
b. "	7	..	365	114 girls	20 girls
a. Toussa	8	2	274	77 boys	6 boys
a. Tangiers	9	2	462	146 "	.....
b. "	6	1	234	126 girls	.....
a. Tatar Bajardjik	7	1	186	0 boys	17 boys
b. "	7	2	265	0 girls	.....
a. Tetuan	8	1	276	126 boys	.....
b. "	8	1	242	73 girls	13 gilrs
a. Tripoli	4	1	119	6 boys	22 boys
b. "	2	1	40	2 girls	.....
a. Tunis	26	6	1,025	100 boys	27 boys
b. "	12	3	579	60 girls	20 girls
c. "	4	2	331	7 "	.....
Varna	5	1	85	0 boys	.....
Yamboli	3	1	105	0 "	.....
Pravar	..	..	....	.. ..	5 boys

In Paris the Alliance supports a preparatory school for boys, 42 inmates. Four years make a course, with professors of Hebrew, French,

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Spanish, literature and diction, history, geography, mathematics, physical and natural science, writing, drawing, singing and gymnastics. There is also preparatory instruction for twenty students.

In Jaffa the Alliance supports an agricultural school which has 104 pupils, who receive a thorough course in scientific and practical farming, vine culture, etc.; and, finally, the Alliance maintains a farm school at Djedlida, near Tunis, where eighteen young men receive farming education.

Total expenses, 802,043 fr. 10 centimes. Boys' schools, 51; girls' schools, 27; "*Ecoles maternelles*," 2. Number of pupils, 18,100.

The Anglo-Jewish association subsidizes some of its work, but supports schools in English possessions besides. In addition to these "Pan-Jewish" organizations—Pan-Jewish because the Alliance of France has branches in most countries of the world from Turkey to Brazil, and subscriptions from Shanghai to Chicago, while the Anglo-Jewish association has branches in all countries under the British flag, from Canada to India—the Jewish communities in the great countries of the world are organized religiously, either under their own auspices, as in England, or under government auspices, as in France. In the United States, only the Reform-Jews are organized, but it is doubtful if they count 100,000 adherents out of the possibly 750,000 Hebrews in this country.

A further and remarkable evidence of the "Hebrew stock," as Washington terms it in one of his happy letters, becoming endowed with new life, is the creation of such societies as the *Hoveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion) and *Shoveve Zion* (Returners to Zion).

These societies also have branches in various countries. Their object is, chiefly, colonization of Palestine by forming agricultural settlements. Since 1881 over twenty colonies have been founded by various enterprises other than these societies. The founders had to learn by experience, and many would have sunk in the morass of failure but for the help of Baron Edmund de Rothschild of Paris. Now, they are practically successful, and their products, wine, soap and honey, are for sale in this country.

Colonization in Palestine has received an undoubted impetus through the failure of such attempts here. A new attempt is now being made in Salinas Valley, 118 miles from San Francisco. It is under the leadership of M. Ephraim Deinard, a scholar of wide repute, but no agriculturist. The *American Hebrew* of July 16 remarks:

"We hope that they will meet with success; we sincerely trust that

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they will prove the exception in the long list of colonies that have been started west of the Alleghanies in the past fifteen years. We cannot but fear, however, that it starts under very poor auspices, for experience is a wise though costly teacher, and sad experience advises against colonization. All of the colonies thus far planted, barring only Alliance and Woodbine, have been so many sink-holes, in whose preparation valuable time and energy have been spent, and in whose depths has disappeared all the money given by willing hands and hearts, anxious to prove by their deeds their faith in the regeneration of the Russian Jew through agriculture. Most of these attempts at colonization have not left even a surviving farmer."

One of the results of the present rejuvenation of the Jew is that the same time and energy would again be as cheerfully given, and willing hands and willing hearts would as cheerfully contribute, to any movement to better the condition of any Hebrews subjected to sufferings.

Now comes the attempt to harmonize or concentrate some of these movements attending the rejuvenation. A new word has been created to describe it and its aims. It is "Zionism." As Mr. Rosenberg, for some time president of the New York branch of the Hoveve Zion puts it:

"Zionism, under the pressure of Russian persecution and European anti-Semitism, has grown into a movement in which both spiritual and temporal forces largely join in intensifying its momentum and gaining for it an ever-increasing adherence among the intellectually and religiously cultured element of civilized Europe. . . . To lift up this practical work of colonization from its philanthropic nursery, to pave the way for a more rousing and effective agitation of the cause everywhere, to better organize and unify with one another the various societies, associations, clubs or other bodies having Zionistic tendencies or objects, to centralize the scattered, disunited forces of the movement, and to give them unity of purpose, aim and direction—this is what the Munich congress is expected to accomplish, or, at least, to compass."

This congress was held in August, in Basle, not Munich.

It is a sign of the times, and of extreme importance in the story of Jewish rejuvenation. Many Hebrews favor it. Some oppose it. The two reasons for opposition may well be mentioned.

The first is because it is identified with Dr. Hertzl, of Vienna, a Zionist, who considers that the Hebrews should obtain Palestine by purchase, and who is said to have peculiar ideas in social economics.

The second reason is, because it is thought that any attempt of Zionism to achieve the creation of a Jewish state must create doubts of Jewish patriotism in the land of adoption or present residence. The first objection does not concern us, except to re-

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mark that the prophet's "not by money shall ye be redeemed" is considered answer enough to Dr. Hertzl's proposition, and as for social economics Judaism does not favor any disturbing idea therein. The second objection is more important, but it disappears when the question of a Jewish state is rightly understood.

The creation of a Jewish state, or the restoration of Palestine to the Hebrews, looked forward to by Jew and Gentile alike, is to be achieved on lines announced by the Bible, the sole source for the Hebrew's hope and for the Christian's expectation in this connection.

It is to be brought about by joint action of the Great Powers. "Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles and set up my standard unto peoples, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nourishers and their princesses thy nursing mothers." It is to be effected as a measure of justice and righteousness. "Zion shall be redeemed as an act of justice, and her captives by righteousness."

Though some Hebrews will settle in Palestine from sentiment and because of its recognized commercial importance by reason of geographical situation, yet other Hebrews are expected to remain in other lands. "And their seed shall be known among the Gentiles and their offspring in the midst of peoples. And I will sow them among the peoples, and in places afar off they shall remember Me."

These Hebrews in other lands will owe no duty to Palestine which can in any way clash with their duty to the country of their adoption. For Palestine can exact only spiritual loyalty. She will have no temporal aspirations beyond her well-defined borders, "from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates." She will have no possessions, no colonies in any other part of the world; and therefore no Monroe doctrine can ever affect her. Her children in other countries will know that she claims no temporal power. Hence, even as Catholics in all countries can be, and are, good citizens in the land of their adoption, the Hebrews can be, are, and will be equally good citizens. They will even be more free than Catholics from any imputation upon the sincerity of their citizenship, since they never will have any head who, while claiming spiritual loyalty, can claim temporal power outside Palestine's borders.

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True, the powers may seek arbitration at Zion, even as to-day they seek arbitration from a King of Sweden, a King of Belgium, or a President of Switzerland, because those countries are surely disinterested. But this will be but a further fulfilment of Bible ideal, when "many people shall go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, . . . and He will teach us of His ways and we will walk in His paths, for out of Zion shall go forth Law, and the word of the Law from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among nations and shall rebuke many peoples. And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The abolition of war and the substitution of arbitration is a consummation devoutly to be wished for.

The orthodox, or Bible Jews, say that when, at the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, they were ordained "a kingdom of priests," it meant that they were to minister to the spiritual wants of God's other children, in whose midst they must therefore necessarily live, and in contact with whom they must logically be. Hence, the orthodox Jews pray for restoration, knowing that in the restoration to Palestine all mankind, and not the Jew alone, will be benefited, and many of the Reform Jews, all the best minds among them, wish this restoration also. Yet let it be said that there are some Reform-Jews who do not believe in the restoration. But then there were some Hebrews who blamed Moses for taking them out of Egypt!

Before summing up, there is one other observation to make. It is that in England and America two parties have sprung up of some significance; the one is "Young Anglo-Jewish," the other is "Young American-Jewish." The former is called "The Maccabees"—name indicative of sacrifice, energy, effort for the preservation of Judaism's holiest interests; the latter is called "The Judeans"—name indicative of identification with those same interests. Both are composed of the brainiest young men; and where youth moves, especially youth animated by high ideals, much may be expected.

Here, then, we find organized in every way the race which has given in our own day such brains in statesmanship as Beaconsfield to England, Cremieux to France, Lasker to Germany, Rothschild in finance, Hirsch in enterprise, Jessel in jurisprudence, Sylvester

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in mathematics. And this race existed, organized, vivific, ages before the great nations of to-day had birth. Its great temple was built, its psalmists had sung, its prophets had preached noble ideals before Remus leaped the walls of Rome, and before the Olympian games were ever contested. It has been subjected to treatment enough to crush the life out of any nation not endowed with more than human attributes. It lives to-day, not at all decrepit, not at all weak. It is younger that ever, if youth means strength, energy, and wild, impetuous love for what is good and beautiful. It is stronger than ever, for it has the strength born of experience. Shall there be, can there be, no future for such a race? There must be. And if the chief theatre of this future shall be Palestine, and in that future "all the families of earth shall be blessed," what will it be but the fulfilment of the old promise to Abraham?

Italy has been reborn. Old France died and new France lives, far more vigorous than of yore. England exists anew, greater, stronger, and nobler, by reason of her new empires fringing every ocean. Germany, revived, now treads the stage of history with grander force than ever. It would be no miracle if Palestine lived again, and from the hills of Judea were again wafted teachings, thoughts, ideals, parables, to lift man spiritually. So to lift man is the function of the Jew. For that he has lived; for that he puts forth the signs of rejuvenescence.

Do we need proof that he has no thought of selfishness, but thinks only of mankind's weal? We will find it in prayers which he has been saying for so many centuries, on the most sacred days each year, yes, and on every day. Remembering that prayer means man's confidential communion with his God, well can we believe that what we quote voices the inmost thought of the Jewish heart:

"We hope in Thee . . . to establish the world for Thy Kingdom; and may all mankind call on Thy Name, to turn all the wicked of Earth to Thee . . . when to Thee every knee shall bend and every tongue swear allegiance." "Iniquity shall close its mouth and wickedness shall vanish like smoke . . . O instil reverence of Thee upon all Thy works . . . let all make one united band to perform Thy will with a perfect heart" . . . May not the whole world answer, "Amen?"

H. Pereira Mendes.

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SOME IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE JUBILEE.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

CERTAINLY the world has never seen such a procession as that which traversed the streets of London upon the 22d day of June in commemoration of the blessings showered upon the motherland under the reign of Queen Victoria. Nor has the history of man anything so surprising as that a little island should hold sway over one-fourth of the population, and one-seventh of the entire surface, of the globe, with thirty parliaments scattered throughout the world, all under the ægis of her crown. Nothing in fiction seems more incredible; nevertheless, the solid fact is before our eyes. This procession brought it home to all. Here one woman, the Queen, was preceded and followed by representatives of subjects owning her sway, who number more than three hundred millions, men of many races from many climes, white, brown and black.

Nor is the world likely to see anything like this again. After viewing such a spectacle no one can question that our English-speaking race is the spreading, colonizing, conquering race of the world, for it is not to be lost sight of that the other branch of that race has not been idle during the sixty years under review. The rapid expansion of the British Empire is paralleled by that of the Republic. The narrow strip along the Atlantic coast occupied by less than fifteen millions of people in 1837 has crept onward to the Pacific, and the fifteen have increased to seventy-two millions. The vital difference is that while the American commonwealth remains compact and united under one central government, the British is scattered over the face of the earth, with thirty practically independent governments, each legislating for its own area. Our race has the earth-hunger and the ability to develop, civilize, and rule. Wherever it goes, it establishes

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government by law, free speech, free press, free education, and "executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed." It is rapidly creeping over the best portions of the earth.

The most weighty feature of the Diamond Jubilee was admittedly the attendance of the eleven premiers from the self-governing colonies. The most important results are to flow from this. Indeed, one startling result has already come, for up to the time when these premiers appeared upon the scene in the old home, the position of the colonies was subordinate; to-day they are on an equality with the home country. The people of Canada and Australia have to thank their representatives for having at one bound established their equality forever. One and all of these men have sounded this note with the greatest clearness. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, having been first to arrive and speak, is entitled to the credit of first proclaiming the doctrine. In his speech in reply to the welcome given him at Liverpool he said: "We claim that treaties which are opposed to us cannot stand. If they do I have only this to say, that the position will have to be considered *in toto*, a new problem will have to be solved. Either Canada will have to retreat or Britain will have to advance." At the Imperial Institute reception he repeated this truth, saying: "Sir, the colonies were born to become nations. It has been said that, perhaps, the time might come when Canada might become a nation of itself. My answer is simple. Canada is a nation. Canada is free, and freedom is its nationality. Although Canada acknowledges the suzerainty of a Sovereign Power, I am here to say that independence can give us no more rights than we have at the present day." He subsequently stated that while he loved England, Scotland, and Ireland, the first place in his affections was naturally for his own *nation*, Canada. Every premier followed this lead, and finally Lord Rosebery at the National Liberal Club reception to these important men, responding to the toast of the colonies, begged to discard the word "Colonies" altogether as denoting that these free communities were still in *statu pupillare*, and he substituted the word "Empire," a suggestion which was greeted with great cheering. The leading Conservative organs, from *The Times* and *Standard* down, have accepted the change. It is clear to all that the colonies are, and must

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hereafter be, recognized as the equals of the parent. Henceforth the colonies acknowledge only the suzerainty of Britain, as Egypt or Roumania owns that of the Sultan. We must credit the poet, Kipling, with having struck the note which all these men sang:

> **"Daughter am I in my mother's house,**
> **But mistress in my own."**

The American cannot fail to note how completely the revolution of 1776 is justified by recent events. The British liberties which Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Jay, Adams stood for, their constitutional rights as Britons, and their claim that taxation without representation was tyranny,—all these are the commonplaces of to-day, as the inalienable right of the British colonies under the British Constitution. This is the registration and final settlement of a condition which existed before, but which had never before been frankly acknowledged.

It must not be supposed that this step forward involves a loosening of the ties which have hitherto bound the colonies to the motherland. On the contrary, there is every indication that the bond between them is to grow even stronger in consequence. The colonies are free to go; the movement for a federated Australia is encouraged by Britain, but the example of Canada under federation proves that the attachment to the motherland becomes stronger as the government of the colony becomes more powerful. It is no legal bond now which holds, but bonds of affection. Whether the English-speaking communities divided by vast oceans can permanently exist and retain even a nominal allegiance to Britain is yet to be tested; but it is evident that as the sway becomes more and more merely nominal, it becomes much easier to maintain it than if it were real. It is hard to displace the sentimental. For the future, the allegiance of the free colonies to the parent land is practically similar to the allegiance of the British people to the monarch whose sway is likewise so purely nominal. The king can do no wrong because he is not allowed to do anything in the way of governing. As long as Britain is blessed with a monarch approaching the present sovereign lady in qualities of head and heart, who follows the example she has set, the bond of genuine affection will keep the monarchy in place. A George the Third or George the Fourth would bring about its prompt but peaceful abolition. In

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like manner, it seems that the nominal tie between the free colonies and Britain will outlast almost every contingency except that of an attempt upon the part of Britain to exercise any real control over them in the matter of government. As Queen Victoria has placed the monarchy in the best possible position to survive, so the statesmen of the colonies and of Britain have placed the relations between the colonies and Britain in the best possible position. The Briton is a prudent, wise and sensible man who knows how to adapt himself to circumstances.

The question of closer union between Britain and her "Comrades"—a fitting word which we owe to Sir Henry Irving, and which was also greeted with much cheering—came also to the fore during the Jubilee, but no result was achieved. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's idea of a Federal Council was voted impracticable. There was some intimation that under certain circumstances the colonies might contribute to imperial defense, especially to the navy. But if this be done, it is evident that the amount will only be nominal in each case, and a very difficult question must be met, to what extent the contributors shall be allowed to control the movements of the navy in time of war. As the relations between the parts is one of sympathy and affection, and essentially sentimental, it will be exceedingly difficult to transmute the sentimental into anything practical of a hard and fast nature involving stated pecuniary obligations. For every note struck proved that the colonies are in nowise minded to participate in any common object without having adequate representation and power. It is probable that the good sense of the British people will soon realize that the more closely or tightly they attempt to draw the bonds, the weaker and less trustworthy the bonds must become, and they will conclude that they had better let well enough alone for the present.

After Australia has confederated, an offensive and defensive alliance between Canada and Australia on the one hand, and Britain on the other, would be natural, as they are members of the same race, and especially as they occupy to each other the relation of parent and children. This alliance would leave each an entirely separate nation as to its tariff, naval and military forces and internal policy, and unite them only for certain specific objects bearing upon imperial safety.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier of Canada, was the foremost

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figure in the whole Jubilee proceedings, next to the Queen herself, and this chiefly because of the threat Canada has made against the United States to introduce preferential tariff conditions in favor of Britain. If Mr. Chamberlain, the principal home figure of the government in the Jubilee, and some of his ablest colleagues who are not likely to be deceived, fully understand that the action of Canada was merely intended to influence the United States to advance in the direction of meeting Canada's needs and desires in the new tariff, they were wise enough not to air their knowledge. It would have been as impolite as impolitic for them to do so.

The masses of the people of Britain do not follow foreign affairs, which are left in the hands of the few governing men of both parties. The public remains satisfied that the policy of the country in foreign affairs is to be continuous, whichever party is in power, and therefore it is impossible to direct their attention to what is going on. They have little idea, for instance, that Canada had been begging at Washington for reciprocal tariff laws with the United States and had been repulsed. The United States exports manufactured articles to Canada, and Canada exports to the United States timber, coal, barley and agricultural products. As it has hitherto been held impossible for Canada to admit the manufactured articles of the United States upon more favorable terms than those granted to Britain and European countries, President Harrison very justly described the situation by saying that "Canada could offer us nothing to trade with." Thus repulsed, Canada attempted to create a diversion by offering preferential treatment to Great Britain, alleging that she did so in return for Great Britain's admitting her products free, which no other country did except New South Wales. Had Canada then felt herself in a position to accord such preferential treatment to imports from the United States, it is probable that an adjustment between the two countries would have taken place, and nothing would have been heard of the present law which accords preferential treatment to the manufactures of Great Britain. As she failed to obtain the desired American market, she is now trying to make a counter demonstration with the market of Great Britain, which is doomed to failure, because nothing but the market of her giant neighbor can bring her even a moderate degree of prosperity.

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Previous to the Jubilee no one thought it possible that Great Britain would cancel her treaties with Belgium and Germany in order to meet the demand for independence made by Canada. These treaties secure the two countries named against any discrimination in tariffs; their products gain admission to all the colonies upon the same terms as the products of Great Britain. Now the necessary notice has been given to terminate these treaties, and we are to see the manufactures of Great Britain entering Canada under duties twenty-five per cent. less than those exacted from other nations, including the United States. It is a grave step. The new Dingley tariff taxes Canadian products entering the United States, but it is clear that further action in reply to the discrimination now established will be required. Here is our neighbor, Canada, deliberately electing to admit the products of Great Britain at lower duties than she proposes to exact from the United States, while the United States treats Canada in precisely the same manner as other nations. The products of Canada are not discriminated against. We tax her imports precisely as we tax similar articles from any other country. The question arises: Are we meekly to suffer our products to be discriminated against by our neighbor, while we accord her equality? The proper response would probably be to prohibit Canadian imports passing through the United States territory in bond, and a law adding to the duties upon Canadian imports into the United States a percentage equal to any preference given by Canada to British manufactures. At present the manufactures of Great Britain pass through Maine into Canada paying twenty-five per cent. less than similar articles passing from the United States direct into Canada. President McKinley may be safely trusted to consider this new attack, and to take the necessary steps to repel it. In electing to ally herself commercially with a European nation instead of with her neighbor upon her own continent, Canada has made a grave mistake. Least of all nations can she afford to inaugurate a war of tariffs with her natural ally, to whom she must gravitate if she would not decay.

The surprising point is that not one line has been written nor one word spoken in Britain upon the vital feature of this momentous change, which is that by it the colonies of Great Britain obtain complete control over their fiscal policy. Hitherto

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they have been included in the tariff treaties of Great Britain; now they are permitted to act alone as independent nations. In short, the treaty-making power has been conferred upon them, as far as commercial relations go. Canada is now in a position to visit Washington and propose a change from preference given to the British to preference given to the American product. She is free and independent. What the parent country does in treaties henceforth affects the parent country alone. This attitude Canada has long desired to reach, notably in the case of the International Copywright Law. When the market of the British Empire was exchanged for the market of the United States, Canada demurred, as will be remembered, and protested against the Canadian market being treated for by any party but Canada herself. Now, there is no question of her right. The step which Britain has taken cancelling her treaties with Belgium and Germany, which denied that right to the colonies, settles the matter. Those who know the position of Canada, and especially those who have studied Mr. Goldwin Smith's remarkable and final book upon the question of its commercial relations, know full well that the present preference given to British manufacturers can amount to little, and that no market but that of the United States can be made worth much to Canada. It is only a question of time, therefore, when one of the political parties there will raise the cry, and succeed in carrying the policy, of reciprocal intercourse with its natural market. Free trade between the United States and Canada is not far distant, and Premier Laurier may fairly be credited with winning one of the greatest triumphs of modern statesmanship. He has accomplished more in one short week for his native land than all her statesmen during their lives. Not since Lord Durham's report, which culminated in the Dominion, has anything been done for Canada so great as thus securing for her the undoubted right to make her own commercial treaties, a right which must now become, of course, the right of every other self-governing colony. Britain is soon to find that this preferential idea in the case of Canada is a two-edged sword which can be used to cut the United States slightly now, and Britain seriously by and by. When next Canada appears at Washington, and it will not be long till then, she will indeed have "something to trade with."

The winning of complete independence and equality by the

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communities which have hitherto been known as colonies, and their promotion to the rank of nations, with the treaty-making power for preferential fiscal relations with other nations, is the one overshadowing result of the Jubilee. The consequences to flow from it are portentous. It makes an epoch in the history of colonization.

Second to this is its effect upon the home rule idea.

There was but one discordant note throughout the whole Jubilee proceedings. From every one of the colonies and dependencies of Britain came the same loyal and devoted note of patriotic and enthusiastic affection; but from one portion of Her Majesty's dominions, and that an integral portion of the United Kingdom itself, there came the note of discontent. Ireland stood apart. As a political move this, undoubtedly, was well, for no occasion could possibly arise which would give Ireland an opportunity to bring home to her governors and to the world the solemn truth that the reign of Queen Victoria had not been satisfactory to her. "Strange," the American says, "that while the fact has been proclaimed at every banquet, with universal acceptance, that the secret of the loyalty to the Empire of the far distant peoples lay in their having been allowed to govern themselves, after their own fashion, it is not immediately seen that home rule for Ireland must . . . . produce like results!" Ireland was the skeleton at the feast, but although no official of the government took notice of the lesson which its presence taught, it must not be inferred that it was not seen and its presence keenly felt. Next to the equality of the colonies, which this Jubilee sealed, may be placed the triumph of the home rule cause for Ireland. Mr. Balfour, the leader of the House of Commons, some time ago intimated that Ireland was at last to have a measure of local government, and his able second, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, since the Jubilee, has gone to much greater lengths in the same direction. The measure will be different in name and form from that of Mr. Gladstone, but the Irish hereafter will have freedom substantially to manage their own affairs. It is safe to prophesy that sixty years hence at any jubilee similar to that which has just past, Ireland will be found as loyal as Scotland, for she is soon to receive what the far-seeing Gladstone saw she must obtain and desired to give her. The substance though not the form will be

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given by the Conservatives, but history is to award to Mr. Gladstone the credit of first recognizing in the case of Ireland that

> **"When force and gentleness play for a Kingdom**
> **The gentle gamester will the sooner win."**

The British Empire could not exist a day but for the effect of the home rule federal system, which proves that the freest government of the parts makes the strongest government of the whole.

The absence of Mr. Gladstone from the Jubilee proceedings was generally noted and commented upon freely in tones of regret, and even of indignation. Some went so far as to suggest that Her Majesty might well have invited the statesman of more than sixty years' reign to occupy a seat at her side in her carriage; but these were Americans. The Briton could not go so far as to wish that the sovereign should have called any subject, however eminent, to her side. She must shine alone in her glory: it is she who in her own person symbolizes the Empire. But the eighty-eight-year-old statesman, who has done more than all the other Prime Ministers of Her Majesty's reign combined to make that reign illustrious, was not forgotten. He remained conspicuous by his absence.

The third important result of the Jubilee was the display of Britain's sea power, which was impressive beyond description. No one who saw the naval review will have any doubt as to the supremacy of Britain upon the sea. Even the imagined alliance of France, Germany, and Russia would be unable to cope with her upon that element. Indeed, the combined fleets of Europe would probably be destroyed by the united, compact, energetic fleet of Britain, especially since we take into account the capacity of Britain to replace the losses of war. The numerous ships of war already on the sea, and the enormous number now building, give the world due notice that Britannia means to continue ruling the waves. Americans may be apt to consider that this involves a great strain upon her resources, but the fact remains that her revenues swell year after year, and that although she is spending five hundred millions of dollars per annum, she has a surplus of revenue this year of twenty-five millions. Her wealth is amazing. Crowded into this little island, not as large as one of several of our States, there is something approaching the entire wealth of our forty-five States. Public sentiment applauds, indeed forces successive governments

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to increase the navy, because it is now universally recognized that the control of the sea is essential to the existence of the nation which cannot feed itself, but is compelled to draw one-half of all it consumes from foreign lands. Ships bringing food to Britain destroyed or even delayed would be equivalent to the capture of the country; for her starving people would compel acceptance of any terms the conqueror might see fit to impose. Whether Conservative or Liberal party be in power, we may conclude that the navy of Britain will be kept equal to meet any possible combination of European powers against her.

The principal figure of the Jubilee, Queen Victoria herself, and the position she has gained and will hold to the end of her days, is worthy of study. It is not possible for any American, however well informed of British affairs, to quite understand the feelings with which this human being is now regarded. If he can imagine "Old Glory" and old Ironsides, Washington and Lincoln, Bunker Hill, and "My Country, Tis of Thee," rolled into one force, and personified in a woman, he may form some conception of the feelings of the average Briton for "The Queen," for she in her own person symbolizes to-day the might and majesty of the land, and its long, varied, and glorious history from the beginning. "The Queen" means everything that touches and thrills the patriotic chord. That both as a woman and a sovereign she has deserved the unique tribute paid her goes without saying; the wildest Radical, or even Republican, will concur in this. Sixty years of unremitting work—she still signs every state paper herself, including lieutenants' commissions in the militia—prudence, patience, and rare judgment have made of this good, able, energetic, managing, and very wise woman a saint, whom her subjects are as little capable and as little disposed to estimate critically, as the American schoolboy can imagine or is disposed to imagine Washington as possessed of human frailties. Washington, Tell, Wallace, Bruce, Lincoln, Queen Victoria or Margaret are the stuff of which heroes or saints are made, and well it is for the race that the capacity for hero-worship and for saint-worship remains with both Briton and American wholly unimpaired.

When a nation ceases to create ideals its glorious days are past. Fortunately for the world, both the Republic and the Monarchy have the future before them.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE TENURE OF THE TEACHER'S OFFICE.

Of the various questions now being discussed by the educational world of to-day, there is none of such grave importance as that relating to the permanence of the teacher's position. All who have had experience in the school-room can testify that the greatest hindrance to successful work on the part of both teacher and pupil is the fact that soon as the present term is done, in all probability a new teacher will be employed, and a change of methods and plans come in with him. This is unjust to both the new teacher and the old, for each must use his own judgment, and the pupils are slow to lay aside the habits learned from the first and take up the ways of the second teacher. Not only that, but much actual damage is done by delaying their progress until the new teacher can classify the scholars, and much more time is lost while he is learning their individual dispositions.

It is acknowledged by all thinking persons that the best efforts of the laborer are not put forth if he is doubtful of his reward; if he cannot reap, neither will he sow. This principle is so well understood by employers that, as far as possible, the position of the laborer, whether he works with hand or brain, is made permanent. But while this is true in general, in the teacher's ranks all is uncertainty. A school principal or superintendent is often regarded as fortunate if he stays the second year, and most fortunate if he remains a third. "You are becoming a fixture, four years here," is a remark sometimes heard when a teacher has overrun his time. Notice the unconscious irony, "a fixture," and "four years."

Now, is there any reason why, if a man has done good work for one year, he cannot do better for another? If he has been four or five years in the school, is he not worth more than ever before to that school, and to the community as well? Yet in accordance with a custom which has come down to us from time immemorial, teachers are compelled to give place to others, who have no knowledge of the needs of the school or of the individual pupils. A merchant who would change clerks as often as some schools do superintendents, would not be regarded as capable of managing his own business.

It is probable that a change of superintendents puts back the work of the school for six months, and of grade teachers in proportion. The first change is the worst, for with it often the whole economy of the school changes—to the infinite loss of all concerned. Yet the people persist in this old custom for no other reason than that it is an old custom, and never seem to think but it's the thing to do.

It is hard work to change the established order of things, so the teach-

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er's case seems almost hopeless, but a few suggestions, which if carried out would do much to remedy the evil, can do no harm.

The educational interests of our country are in the worst possible state of disorganization. Each State, each county, each district, manages its own affairs, and pays no attention to the rest. This certainly is a sad condition of affairs, and must needs be changed before any good can be accomplished. There must be a settled, definite policy for the whole country; in other words, there must be national supervision, with a national superintendent of education, who will be a cabinet officer. There must be one system, one uniform plan of instruction, modified to suit local needs, and harmonious laws all over the United States. In after years when this comes, as it surely will, people will look back with wonder upon these "dark ages," educationally, when there was no system or coherence in our schools. The only wonder is that so much has been accomplished with such inadequate means, and that so much has been accomplished is much to the credit of those engaged in the work.

Another needed reform, and this would come with national supervision, is in the direction of a thorough training of teachers. If no one was allowed to teach until he had a diploma from a government normal training school, which diploma was a life certificate, many of the difficulties of the teacher's life would disappear, for then there would be encouragement to enter the work for life, instead of merely taking it up as a temporary makeshift, as so many do at present, owing to which skilled and unskilled labor is brought into unfair competition, as most people think that anybody who can obtain a certificate, of however low a grade, can teach school; and, legally, anybody can. Experienced teachers have to compete with those who have had little or no experience, so it is no wonder that wages are low. Think of a first-class carpenter having to compete with a man who has a hammer and a saw and can build a pig-pen!

Again, the injustice of requiring a teacher to take an examination every time he crossed an imaginary line, and, no matter what his experience and success, to be re-examined at stated periods, would be done away with, for these diplomas would be good in every state in the union. The periodical examinations are the bane of the teacher's life, for when he should be broadening his outlook, he must be preparing for them, so the effect is very narrowing, to say the least.

With national supervision teaching would be a profession, and the teachers more professional in their dealings with each other, nor be so ready to take advantage of complaints about others to advance their own interests. The code of ethics among them should be as strict as that governing the medical profession, and should be adhered to as closely. With their work a profession, teachers would have heart to magnify their calling; to have an ideal, and so far as in them lay to strive to attain it, for then they would feel an energy and interest in their labor which now they cannot, for not only could the teacher lay his plans for the future and inaugurate much needed measures, not attempted now for lack of time, and the uncertainty of position as well, but he could have a home, could be a citizen, and could take a citizen's interest in local affairs, nor endanger his official head by being a man among men.

Will these reforms ever be made? Not with public opinion as it is. Teachers themselves must be roused from their apathy, must strive to "work out their own salvation," they must not be so hopeless for the future. The

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people must be made to realize the frightful waste of force, the irreparable injury to their children, under the present lack of system, so that they will demand more sensible and humane management, and greater justice to both teachers and pupils. The press must be enlisted in the cause, and the great magazines, which are fairly teeming with educational articles of the rarest value, and which are always in the lead where the uplifting of the general public is concerned, will aid the movement, and all working together, these changes will come about sooner, perhaps, than we expect, for events culminate rapidly in this age of progress, and in this country of ours.

E. L. COWDRICK.

HEALTH AND BEAUTY.

THE household article in greatest use is probably the "looking glass." What person is there handsome or homely who does not question the mirror daily?

The love of beauty is one of the most firmly implanted qualities of the human mind, and only those who are mentally deficient fail to appreciate it.

From the human standpoint there is no edifice so beautiful as that earthly temple which enshrines the soul. Very little defacement, however, converts this beautiful structure into a loathsome thing, and to prevent it constant care and watchfulness is necessary. It needs no Roentgen ray to penetrate the walls of this edifice in order to discover the condition of the occupant. The drunkard, the roué and the sloth all show their vice indelibly impressed without.

Stamped in various places are the marks the fool has paid for his folly.

People who live without thinking why or how they live, cannot appreciate on what apparent trifles their physical and moral well being depend. The person who bolts his food and rushes off to work or exercise does not stop to think that he has loaded his stomach with a mass which will ferment or even putrefy before it can be digested.

The food must be thoroughly masticated and incorporated with the saliva before it is swallowed. Gladstone is said to owe much of his vigorous constitution to the fact that he makes it a rule to chew each mouthful thoroughly. The anecdote says he chews each mouthful thirty-nine times before swallowing. I do not know if the story is true, but it is plausible, and in a measure may well account for his splendid health and longevity.

It should be remembered that digestion takes a considerable amount of energy, and that if we work or make much effort after eating a full meal we draw away from the stomach the nervous force that is absolutely necessary to enable it to perform its function.

The result is indigestion with its train of ills. Few realize what a train these are. The food lies in "a lump," and distresses the sufferer. This distress tortures and exhausts him. The stomach walls are excited, irritated, and inflamed. After a time nature, unable to get rid of the mass by natural digestion, tries to dissolve it by fermentation, and gases are given off which distend the stomach, causing it to encroach upon the space needed by the lungs and heart. The latter is embarrassed; palpitation and strange sensations are felt; breathing is difficult. The sufferer in nine cases out of ten believes he has heart disease. Fermentation goes on to putrifaction, and poisonous matters are developed in the mass of putrefying food.

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These still further irritate the stomach. But worse even; a portion are absorbed and cause various nervous symptoms. Headache, neuralgia, dizziness, and so called "hot flashes" affect the sufferer.

Tender spots varying in size from a silver dollar to three inches in diameter develop over the chest and head. The patient feels so ill he commonly suspects that he is suffering from heart disease, Bright's disease, or some illness having a certain fatal termination.

The painful neuralgia in his chest or back confirms this fear. Often the stomach derangement is so insidious that even a physician is misled and does not suspect that the symptoms so far removed from that organ have their origin there.

Moreover, the weakened, debilitated condition which quickly results from stomach derangement, the half-starved, anæmic state which follows, renders the patient peculiarly liable to contract and develop the infectious and contagious ailments.

Though consumption and other communicable disease may attack strong, healthy persons, it is extremely rare for them to do so. The dyspeptics and the weaklings in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred are their victims.

The cure of dyspepsia, when it has advanced to the stage of catarrh of the stomach, is often very difficult, weeks and even months being sometimes necessary to effect it.

If the disease has extended beyond the stomach into the intestines, the nervous paroxysms that are of almost daily occurrence render life unendurable.

Now, while the cure of the condition I have described is difficult, nothing is easier than its prevention. Nowhere is the difference between the proverbial ounce and pound better exemplified. A little time devoted to proper eating, a little rest after meals so that the stomach may get a good start to do its work again, and all may be avoided.

When I first began to practice my profession, I was amazed at the number of women of my acquaintance whom I saw, not only professionally but socially, who were afflicted in some degree with some ailment. It was very difficult to find a healthy woman. Even now, though conditions have greatly improved and are still improving, I believe a perfectly healthy woman is quite a rarity. I recently instituted a sort of rough census with the purpose of ascertaining in a general way the percentage of healthy women to the general mass of womankind. Four of my friends whose interest I awakened made personal inquiries among their acquaintances. The inquiries reached 239 women. Out of this number only 14 could boast of perfect health. How many women owe their ill-health to modern modes of living, improper eating, and improper clothing!

Tight lacing and its evils are hackneyed themes, but I cannot pass them by without just a word of denunciation. The bodily distortion that results from compressing the vital organs and displacing them from their proper positions is answerable for much misery. "Can a woman ride a bicycle when she is tightly laced?" I asked an enthusiastic lady cyclist, when I first noticed women were taking up the fad. "She can," was the reply, "but she is the most uncomfortable person on the face of the earth, and she cannot climb a hill to save her life." I soon noticed that among a large class of women tight lacing was the exception. The bicycle is doing more toward curing this evil than all that has been written or cried against it.

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The bicycle may prove one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. It may, however, work great harm, and in four ways accomplish it. First, by injudicious long-distance riding. Ambitious riders who attempt to accomplish "centuries" and "double centuries" may do so at the expense of their entire future well-being. Peculiarly favorable physical conditions may make it safe for a person to ride four or even five hours a day, but as a rule an hour or two is amply sufficient to obtain good results. Second, by riding on a badly constructed saddle, which distributes the weight of the body over parts which were not intended to withstand pressure. Third, riders suffering from diseases affecting the pelvic organs are apt to unduly congest these. In all these diseases the return circulation is impeded, *i. e.*, the blood vessels leading from the parts toward the heart are more or less compressed by the swelling or enlargement which naturally accompanies the disease. Of course, the exercise increases the blood supply to the parts, and this cannot be returned to the heart in proportion to the increase. The swelling is naturally enlarged and the inflammatory condition aggravated. Fourth, by the "scorcher posture," by which the chest is contracted, the lungs squeezed, so to speak, into a space too small to hold them. The air cannot properly dilate them and consumptive tendencies are greatly favored. The spine is formed by a number of bony rings bound together by ligamentous and muscular bands. Between each of these rings is a disc made of elastic cartilage resembling India rubber in consistency. These make the spine flexible in all directions. If the spine bends toward the front, the discs are compressed in front and expand behind. If the spine bends backward, the discs contract and expand in the opposite direction. Now, if we remain in a bent-over position and the discs are kept for a period of time compressed, they lose their elasticity and remain compressed on one side and expanded on the other. After a time the cartilage becomes hardened as bone and holds the person bent over with a curvature of the spine.

The modern bed is also utterly destructive to the spine. It is soft, piled at one end with pillows, and it curves the spine exactly as is curved that of the scorcher. A flat bed and a low pillow are conducive to healthful rest and a straight, handsome frame.

If we would be happy, handsome, and healthy, we should eat carefully, avoid exertion after meals, dress loosely and comfortably, exercise moderately, and sleep not in badly constructed beds.

CYRUS EDSON.

SHALL WE TAX THE HUMAN LEG?

THE bicycle tax was conceived in the brain of the man whose sole idea of property was that it was "something to tax." The fierce fight that is waged against it in Paris, Chicago, St. Louis and other great cities where it has been levied grows out of the instinctive, intuitive feeling among wheelmen that the tax is unjust. They have raised many objections to it, which have varied with localities. In some places it has been fought on the ground that as other vehicles were not taxed it was class legislation. In others, as at Paris, it has been alleged that the wheel having become an object of use by workmen who go to their place of employment on it, the levy was a discrimination against the poor. But this attempt to array one class against another has been as futile as the others. In Chicago, the recent bicycle tax ordinance evolved

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long and learned aguments to the effect that the assessment meant double taxation. So everywhere the objections to this new tax have differed in accordance with the community affected. But there is one objection to the tax that is fundamental, and applies to it irrespectively of locality. The bicycle tax when stripped of the sophistries which have accompanied its elevation into municipal ordinance is simply a tax on leg power, and in that respect restricts the citizen in the exercise of his physical forces. The mere consideration of what the bicycle does for man will clearly demonstrate the unconstitutionality of the tax. The bicycle is a means by which man puts to the best use the driving power of his legs. It occupies nearly the same relation as the shoe. Foot covering enables a man to walk better, the bicycle goes a little further and adds the feature of speed. If it is right to tax the bicycle it is equally right to tax the shoe. Or carry the comparison further. The crutch of the cripple enables him to utilize his powers of locomotion more than if he did not use it. It increases the speed of the legless man as much in proportion as the bicycle adds to the speed of the man with complete limbs. Is the crutch to be taxed? If not why the bicycle? In Bermuda I once saw a paralytic who could move about only by propelling himself in a perambulator. When they taxed his perambulator at the Custom House, he said with a pathos entirely lost on the officials, "Don't you know you are taxing my legs."

The argument that the bicycle is a vehicle, and is, therefore, a proper subject for taxation is completely nullified by recent legal decisions. In Great Britain within the past year judges have ruled that bicycles are not vehicles, and in the United States the Courts have upheld the acts compelling railroads to carry bicycles as baggage, in face of the railroads' contention that wheels were vehicles. If bicycles are baggage they are certainly not vehicles. They cannot change their character by being lifted into a car. The suddenness with which the right to have their wheels carried free was accorded to wheelmen by legislatures was a recognition of the fact that the bicycle is part of a man's personal equipment as much as his shoes or his spectacles. The mind should need no special enlightenment to perceive that nothing can be logically classed as a vehicle that depends for its power on man's own physical forces. In wagons, automobiles and locomotives the power is all outside of man's muscles. This distinction is made perfectly clear when we consider the bicycle skate now coming into use on the roads. No one would seriously argue that it should be taxed, for the connection between the leg muscles and the skate is so close as to be apparent at a glance. Even though the bicycle skater should be banished to the roadway from the sidewalk, there would be no reason for taxing him. Some bicyclists seem to think that the payment of a tax entitles them to the use of the road, and it is this belief that is largely responsible for the laws taxing them. They forget that their right to use the road rests on no payment of a tax. It rests on their desire to go somewhere. As well say that the only way a man acquires the right to use a sidewalk is by the payment of a tax on shoes, or in the case of a cripple by paying to use his crutches, for it must not be forgotten that both shoes and crutches injure a roadway more than a rubber tire. Nor can a bicycle tax be justified on the ground that it is to build cycle paths. The same argument would call for a tax on shoes to provide sidewalks.

WM. EVERETT HICKS.

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